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Bolshevism in Russia.

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BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA

A Collection of Reports presented to the Parliament of Great Britain by Command of His Majesty and laid on the table of the House of Commons, Canada, April 29, 1919

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"BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA."

The collection of reports printed in the accompanying pamphlet tell the story of the great Russian tragedy from the commencement of Bolshevist Rule to April of the present year. It furnishes convincing evidence of the murders and massacres that have gone hand in hand with the regime of Lenine and Trotsky. It records these crimes with full particulars of time, place and names of victims. The report also records the state of utter demoralization which prevails throughout Russia, affecting her industries, her railways, her agricultural activities and every other sphere of human enterprise Canadian readers will find in this dark picture of Soviet Russia a means of appraising for themselves the claims and professions of Bolshevism.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION.

FOREWORD.

THE collection of reports on Bolshevism in Russia recently submitted to the British Parliament are from His Majesty's Official representatives in Russia, from British subjects who have lately returned from that country, and from independent witnesses of various nationalities. It covers the period of the Bolshevik regime from the summer of 1918 to April of the present year. In a foreword of the White paper in which the reports are printed it is explained that "they are unaccompanied by anything in the nature of comment or introduction "since they speak for themselves in the picture they present of the principles "and methods of Bolshevik rule, the appalling incidents by which it has been "accompanied, the economic consequences which have flowed from it and the "almost incalculable misery which it has produced."

The summary furnished in the following pages omits a number of sections which describe in detail economic conditions in Russia, also some of the chapters dealing with the treatment of the Czar and his family, which follow closely the information that has reached the public from other sources.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION,
OTTAWA, Ont., May, 1919.

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BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA.

The reports open with an account of the treatment of ambassadors and consular officers of Great Britain and other countries at Petrograd and Moscow as furnished in official despatches sent through neutral capitals to Hon. A. J. Balfour the British Foreign Minister. Among the despatches are the following:—

From the British Consul at Moscow, dated August 5, 1918.

"About 4.30 this morning a band of ten armed men attacked consulate-general and demanded admittance. Without my authority one of the inmates of the house opened the door, being threatened with firearms. This was the fourth armed raid on the premises. Guards left at 5.30, and local commissary expressed his regret at the incident.

During the morning I learnt of arrest of several British subjects, including Messrs. Armitage, Whitehead, William Cazalet Hastie (over seventy years old), North (chaplain), Beringer (Reuter's agent), and Miss H. Adams, one of my staff. In the afternoon, while Mr. Lockhart was calling, another raid on the premises was made with warrant for arrest of staff. I protested and declared that I only yielded to force. Office was sealed in great detail, seals being attached to every drawer, to both safes, and to all receptacles for papers, also to outer doors to the office rooms. All the staff were then arrested, including Mr. Stevens, Mr. Douglas, and lady clerks, and conveyed to Soviet's police quarters in Trevskoi Boulevard. Mr. Lockhart, Captain Hicks and I were not arrested, as Chicherin had promised that consuls and military missions should not be arrested. Their staffs, however, had not been specifically mentioned. French military attaché, General Lavergne, was liberated after short arrest. Staff were detained, Guards were stationed to watch my premises, and I was left in my private apartments there. I do not regard failure to arrest myself and Mr. Lockhart as evidence of intention to treat us better than our staffs, but rather the contrary."

CAPTAIN CROMIE SHOT.

From the Danish Minister at Petrograd, dated September 3, 1918.

"On 31st August the Government troops forced their way into the British Embassy, their entry to which was resisted by British naval attaché, Captain Cromie who, after having killed three soldiers, was himself shot.

"The archives were sacked, and everything was destroyed.

"Captain Cromie's corpse was treated in a horrible manner. Cross of St. George was taken from the body, and subsequently worn by one of the murderers.

"English clergyman was refused permission to repeat prayers over the body.

"French Military Mission was forced. A man named Mazon and a soldier and several Frenchmen were arrested.

" Bolsheviks in the press openly incite to murder British and French.
" It is urgently necessary that prompt and energetic steps be taken."

ARRESTS AND EXECUTIONS.

From the British Ambassador at Copenhagen dated September 9, 1918.

" Wholesale arrest and decapitations have resulted from attempt on Lenin and murder of Uritsky. Bolsheviks are arresting *bourgeoisie*, men, women, and children, having no connection with the authors of these attempts, on the plea that they are faced with conspirators.

" According to official reports, more than 500 persons have been shot during the last three days without inquiry or sentence. Fresh executions are being prepared, and the press is full of blood-thirsty articles.

" Lockhart was arrested and condemned to death, but at the last moment we succeeded in saving him; 28 British, including British consul, and 11 French have been arrested at Petrograd. In the prisons, conditions defy description. In fortress of Peter and Paul, where all the British are confined, prisoners have absolutely no food. In order to remedy this, we have now succeeded in forming an organization. Every night executions take place without trial. Terrorism continues. Protest against these proceedings has been made verbally and in writing by foreign representatives, including Germans. List of more than 1,000 hostages has been published by the Government, amongst whom are four Serbian officers, who will be shot if attempt on life of a commissary should be made."

PRISON CONDITIONS.

Extracts from a despatch sent by the Netherlands Minister at Petrograd and received through the British Minister at Christiania dated September 17, 1918:—

" Conditions under which Englishmen at Peter and Paul fortress are kept are most miserable. I was informed yesterday by M. D'Arcy, commercial attaché to French Embassy, just released, that they are crowded together with other prisoners, some twenty in a cell, twenty by ten feet. In each cell there is only one bed, rest must sleep on a stone floor. No food whatever is supplied by prison authorities, and they depend entirely on arrangements which this Legation had made and food furnished by friends and relatives. Rugs, pillows, medicines, warm clothing, and other conforts are being sent from time to time, but great difficulties are experienced in getting these articles delivered. From the 31st August to morning of the 2nd September no food at all was accepted for prisoners. Since then they have received some supplied from outside, but it still remains to be seen whether it will reach them regularly at fortress, though I shall leave no stone unturned to secure its proper distribution. Russian prisoners in fortress appear to be absolutely starving, and this will make question of supply of British subjects even more difficult than it would otherwise be, owing to presence in their cells of famished Russians. I enclose herewith copy of letter just received from British prisoners, which speaks for itself.

" Yesterday evening I endeavoured to see Zinovief in order to inform him of appalling conditions at the fortress, but he absolutely refused to see me. I was

equally unable to see Uritski's successor and could only gain access to a subordinate of latter, who behaved with lack of courtesy which may now be expected. I informed him of conditions obtaining in fortress, and he eventually promised to speak to commandant of fortress whom he had occasion to see that night. He refused to give me the number of Zinovief's telephone or name of commandant of fortress. . . .

"At Moscow I had repeated interviews with Chicherin and Karahan. Whole Soviet Government has sunk to the level of a criminal organization. Bosheviks realise that their game is up and have entered on a career of criminal madness. I repeatedly told Chicherin, with all the energy of which I am capable, that he must realize full well that Bolshevik Government was not a match for England. England had a longer wind than the Soviets. She would not be intimidated; even if hundreds of British subjects should be executed by order of the Bolsheviks England would not turn one hair's breadth from her purpose. Moment would come when the Soviet authorities, man by man, would have to pay for all the acts of terrorism which they committed. But in spite of persistence with which I drove those facts home, I could not obtain any definite promises from Chicherin but only a few evasive replies and some lies. Bolsheviks have burnt their boats and are now ready for any wickedness.

"As regards original objects of my journey to Moscow—evacuation of British from Russia—I found it necessary to promise that Litvinof should be allowed to leave England at once, provided that in exchange for this concession all British subjects in Russia, including consular staffs and missions, were allowed to leave the country. This was agreed to so far as consulates and civilians were concerned, including those now under arrest at Petrograd, but an exception was made with regard to members of military and naval missions, who would be released only on arrival of Russian Red Cross delegates in France for the purpose of repatriation of Russian soldiers. Result of negotiations was reported by telegraph to His Majesty's Minister at Stockholm for communication to British Government."

PRISONERS SLOWLY STARVED.

Following is a copy of the letter received by the British Ambassador from the British prisoners in the Fortress of Peter and Paul at Petrograd, dated 5th September, 1918: referred to above.

"We are not allowed to write letters. We will write to you daily, since the chance of our letters getting through are very remote. Our life here is even worse than in Gorokhovaya 2, and in a sense we are being treated exactly like Russian officers and bourgeois, who are being slowly starved to death here. Only our hope lies in parcels, but delivery of parcels has been stopped for the moment. Those due on Monday last have not yet been delivered. It all depends on the caprice of some one in authority, and he seems very capricious. Surely we are entitled to be treated like prisoners of war and to be inspected by neutrals, to have the right of buying food, of getting news, of sending letters, of exercise, of getting clean linen, etc. Apart from the question of food, that of clothing and medical attention are most important. All the

prisoners here have a chronic diarrhœa; most of us have now got it. Requests for a doctor, or medicine, or complaints to the commandant, all receive no attention. In short, our treatment is absolutely inhuman. Following is a short account of our treatment since Saturday last:—

" We were never told why we were arrested, and from the first all requests, etc., to see you have been contemptuously and rudely refused. We reached Gorokhovaya at 6 p.m. on Saturday, and, after questioning of an aimless sort, we were put, at 8 p.m. in a room about 25 feet by 15 feet, where there were already about fifty arrested Russians—murderers, speculants [*sic*], etc. All beds were already occupied, and we spent the night between the three odd chairs, the floor, and walking about. By morning we were all in the first stages of verminosity, very dirty, tired, and hungry. The first food came at 1 p.m., small bowls of bad fish, soup, and one-eighth of a pound of bread. At 6 p.m. we got another one-eighth pound of bread. We received the same food on Monday also. On Sunday night the room was less full, and we got some sleep. By that time we were also getting used to the journey [*sic*]. Parcels arrived on Monday and eased the food situation. On Tuesday at 4 p.m. we were marched through the streets under escort here. The consul's request for a vehicle for our kit was most rudely refused. Here we were distributed in different cells, size about 20 feet by 10 feet, in order to make up the number twenty. In our cell are thirteen Russians, four of whom are slowly starving to death. They have had no food for three days. After we had been here thirty-three hours, soup came in at 3 a.m., and one-eighth pound of bread. We could not eat the soup; wood, leather, stones, mixed with cabbage and paper, were its main ingredients. So we, too, will sooner or later starve to death. Our immediate need is parcels, but it is essential for you to send some one here on Saturday to see if they have been delivered and to obtain our receipts. Otherwise they will not be delivered.

Next is medical comforts: (1) for diarrhœa; (2) aspirin. We can get none. Third is some money.

We will write again to-morrow. We are not allowed to leave our cells. The door is never opened. The w.c. periodically refuses to work, and the atmosphere is appalling.

Need I say more, save that I hope you will lay the substance of this report before His Majesty's Government.

With many apologies for giving you this trouble.—(Signed) From British Subjects detained in Peter and Paul."

FATE OF THE CZAR AND FAMILY.

Memorandum written by Mr. Sydney Gibbes formerly tutor of the Tsarevitch and given to the British High Commissioner at Ekaterinburg, October 5, 1918:—

" The Emperor had no cause to complain of his treatment while living in Tobolsk, and physically he greatly improved in health. He seemed to feel that he had absolved himself of a wearisome business and thrown the responsibility on other shoulders. The enforced leisure gave him more time to devote to what was undoubtedly dearest to him in the world—his wife and family. The Empress suffered more, but bore bravely up under all hardship.

The Grand Duchesses were always happy and contented, and seemed satisfied, with the simple life to which they were reduced, although they pined for more exercise in the open air, the yard being a poor substitute for the parks. This indeed seemed generally to be their greatest hardship.

The Grand Duke enjoyed fairly good health most of the time, and suffered most from lack of youthful society, although the doctor's son was sometimes allowed to enter and play with him.

This simple family life went on till the beginning of April (o.s.), when the first important Bolshevik Commissar, Yakovlef, arrived from Moscow. He was received by the Emperor, who showed him the rooms in which they lived, including the Grand Duke's room, where he was then lying ill in bed. At the end of the visit he asked to be taken a second time to see the Grand Duke.

After lunch on the 12th of April, Yakovlef announced to the Emperor and Empress that he was instructed to remove the Emperor, and hoped that he would consent and not oblige him to use force. The Empress was greatly distressed, and at her desire was allowed to accompany the Emperor and take with her her third daughter, the Grand Duchess Marie. Hasty preparations were made for their departure. The Imperial family dined alone, but at eleven o'clock invited all who were accustomed to dine with them to tea in the drawing-room. Tea was served at a large round table carried into the room, and was a very sad meal. The departure was fixed for 3 a.m., and shortly before that time carts and carriages entered the yard. The Emperor drove with Yakovlef, and the Empress and Grand Duchess Marie in a half-covered tarantass. They were accompanied by Prince Dolgorouki, Dr. Botkine, the Empress's maid (Demidova), the Emperor's man (Chemidorof), and one lackey (Saidnef). The carriages were strewn with hay, on which they sat, or rather reclined. The roads were in a fearful condition, the thaws having already begun, and at one point they were obliged to cross the river on foot, the ice being already unsafe. On the second night, they spent a few hours in a hut, and arrived on the following day at Tumen, where a train was in waiting which took them in the direction of Omsk. Some versts outside that town Yakovlef left the train and went by motor car to the telegraph station to communicate with Moscow, and, finding that preparations were being made in Omsk to arrest the Imperial family, he returned to the train, which then left in the opposite direction, and returned the way it came. However, on arrival at Ekaterinburg, the train was stopped and everybody removed: Prince Dolgorouki to prison and the others to a private house in the centre of the town that had hastily been prepared for their reception. A high wooden fence of rough boards was hastily put up outside the house, and the windows whitened within. Here the Emperor, Empress, and Grand Duchess Marie lived till the 16th July (o.s.), the rest of the children being brought from Tobolsk to join their parents on the 23rd of May. For this journey elaborate arrangements were made for its safe conduct, and the whole personal effects of the Imperial family, as well as the furniture from the Governor's house, were removed at the same time. The train arrived in the middle of the night, but was kept moving in and out of the station all night, and at 7 a.m. the children were removed, being placed in cabs and taken to the house. The night was cold and heavy snow fell as they left. At tea the Countess Hendrichof, the Empress's Lady-in-Waiting,

Mlle. Schneider, the Empress's reader in Russian, and General Tatischef were taken away to the prison and have since been shot. At 11, three lackeys, the cook, and his boy were ordered to prepare to go into the house, and two certainly, most probably four, were afterwards shot. The remainder of the establishment, consisting of the Baroness Buxhoevden, Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress, the English and French tutors, and about sixteen personal attendants and servants were set at liberty and happily escaped.

Since the departure of the Bolsheviks, the house in which the Imperial family lived has been thoroughly examined, and undoubted traces of murder exist, but the number of shots are not sufficient to warrant the supposition that all the persons there confined were murdered. Part were murdered and part were taken away, and as the Grand Duchesses' hair had been found, it is supposed that the Imperial children were taken away disguised. Garments having been burnt in a forest outside the town also strengthens this supposition. The Bolsheviks announced after this date at a public meeting held in the theatre and by bills posted on the walls that the Emperor had been shot and the Imperial family removed to a safe place, and to the present there is no evidence to prove the statement false, while the evidence of the hair would prove that at least the part of the statement concerning the children was true. But since that date nearly three months have passed.

"Other members of the Imperial family confined at Alapaevsk, a small town 100 versts from Ekaterinburg, included the Grand Duke Serge Michaelovitch, Prince John Constantinovitch, Prince Igor Constantinovitch, and Count Vladimir Pavlovitch Pale, all of whom there is reason to fear have been killed. The Grand Duchess Serge, who was also there, is reported to have been wounded and taken away. Princess Helen Petrovna, of Serbia, who came to Ekaterinburg to be near her husband, was arrested, as well as the two Serbian officers who came to induce her to leave, and has been removed with the other hostages taken from the town."

BOLSHEVIST PRACTICES.

From Mr. R. H. B. Lockhart, Moscow, to Sir G. Clerk for the information of Hon. A. J. Balfour, dated Moscow, NoveAber 10, 1918:—

"The following points may interest Mr. Balfour:—

1. The Bolsheviks have established a rule of force and oppression unequalled in the history of any autocracy.

2. Themselves the fiercest upholders of the right of free speech, they have suppressed, since coming into power, every newspaper which does not approve their policy. In this respect the Socialist press has suffered most of all. Even the papers of the International Mensheviks like "Martov" have been suppressed and closed down, and the unfortunate editors thrown into prison or forced to flee for their lives.

3. The right of holding public meetings has been abolished. The vote has been taken away from everyone except the workmen in the factories and the poorer servants, and even amongst the workmen those who date to vote against the Bolsheviks are marked down by the Bolshevik secret police as counter-

revolutionaries, and are fortunate if their worst fate is to be thrown into prison, of which in Russia to-day it may truly be said, "many go in but few come out".

4. The worst crimes of the Bolsheviks have been against their Socialist opponents. Of the countless executions which the Bolsheviks have carried out a large percentage has fallen on the heads of Socialists who had waged a lifelong struggle against the old regime, but who are now denounced as counter-revolutionaries merely because they disapprove of the manner in which the Bolsheviks have discredited socialism.

5. The Bolsheviks have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in the prisons under conditions to find a parallel to which one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history.

6. The Bolsheviks have restored the barbarous methods of torture. The examination of prisoners frequently takes place with a revolver at the unfortunate prisoner's head.

7. The Bolsheviks have established the odious practice of taking hostages. Still worse, they have struck at their political opponents through their women folk. When recently a long list of hostages was published in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks seized the wives of those men whom they could not find and threw them in to prison until their husbands should give themselves up.

8. The Bolsheviks who destroyed the Russian army, and who have always been the avowed opponents of militarism, have forcibly mobilized officers who do not share their political views, but whose technical knowledge is indispensable, and by the threat of immediate execution have forced them to fight against their fellow-countrymen in a civil war of unparalleled horror.

9. The avowed ambition of Lenin is to create civil warfare throughout Europe. Every speech of Lenin's is a denunciation of constitutional methods, and a glorification of the doctrine of physical force. With that object in view he is destroying systematically both by executions and by deliberate starvation every form of opposition to Bolshevism. This system of "terror" is aimed chiefly at the Liberals and non-Bolshevik Socialists, whom Lenin regards as his most dangerous opponents.

10. In order to maintain their popularity with the working men and with their hired mercenaries, the Bolsheviks are paying their supporters enormous wages by means of an unchecked paper issue, until to-day money in Russia has naturally lost all value. Even according to their own figures the Bolsheviks' expenditure exceeds the revenue by thousands of millions of roubles per annum.

These are facts for which the Bolsheviks may seek to find an excuse, but which they cannot deny.

(POSITION OF PEASANTS AND FACTORY WORKERS.)

Report on "Bolshevism" by Mrs. L....., formerly Organizer and Controller of a large War Hospital in Moscow, who left Russia in October, 1918:—*

"The Peasants and the Land.—Already under the régime of the Provisional Government the land had been handed over to the whole body of the peasants

in each district. But it must be borne in mind that the Russian peasant has a strongly developed sense of property and all his hopes were centred on an ultimate dividing of the land, which would make each one an individual proprietor and guarantee him the secure ownership of his holding. The Bolsheviks, however, regarding the land as the property of the nation as a whole, ordered the peasants to cultivate the fields for the benefit of the local commune. The peasants, disappointed in their hopes, soon began to express their disapproval of the new policy. This brought upon them the accusation of disloyalty to the Soviet Government, and their antagonism was countered by the appointment in each district of "Comiteti Bednoti" (committees consisting of the poorest class of peasants), who disposed of the crop, leaving a certain amount in possession of those who had grown it and taking the rest for themselves. This meant that the drones got all they needed without doing any productive work, and was equivalent to a premium on idleness. The inevitable result was a steady decline in the crops, which will in the end prove the ruin of agricultural Russia.

The Factory and the Workmen.—Under the Provisional Government, Workmen's Committees were formed which dealt with such questions as hiring of labour, deciding the scale of pensions, allowances, and bonuses, and the whole administration of the factory. Selling prices were controlled and profits were allocated in the proportion of 95 per cent to the State and 5 per cent to the owner. In practice this scheme resulted in continual reconstruction of the committees on the ground that the bonuses were too low or pensions unfairly awarded. The committees were never in power long enough to get acquainted with the details of the business. At the beginning of their régime the Bolsheviks did not alter this system, but gradually changes leading towards nationalization were inaugurated. In March, 1918, private trade was put an end to and a Central Board for every industry was set up which collected the produce from various firms. The selling prices were fixed by decree, but payment out of which wages and expenses had to come was made by the Central Board only after long delay and repeated demand.

In July all factories were nationalized and handed over to the workmen under the direction of Central Boards which functioned in a most despotic manner. All owners and managers were turned out and could not re-enter the works unless elected. At the slightest opposition or protest the workmen were thrown into prison, field guns brought out, and the threat made to raze the factory to the ground.

Wages and Food.—The minimum wage for a workman was fixed at 500 roubles per month, while superior artisans (a very small percentage of the community) received up to a maximum of 1,000 roubles per month. This sum was fixed on the assumption that the official rations were inadequate. In actual fact the scale was ludicrously insufficient to maintain life. Up till September, 1916, the bread ration was one-quarter pound to one-half pound per day for workmen and one-sixth pound for others. The bread was of very low standard, was full of refuse of all kinds and of the consistency of putty. Even this ration was seldom to be had. True, certain things could be obtained by underhand means, as for example black flour at 10 roubles per pound (equivalent to $1.50

to-day), butter at 39 roubles per pound, sugar at 39 roubles per pound, eggs at 27 roubles per dozen. From this it is quite evident that the wage of 500 roubles was inadequate for the upkeep of a family. As a result the workpeople tried to bring supplies into the town from districts where the prices were lower. This practice was strongly forbidden by the Government because it upset their "rationing organization," and strong measures were taken to repress it. A train returning from one of the food areas would be held up by a body of Red Guards, established at some point on the line. These guards would open fire on the train and almost invariably some of the passengers were shot. All had their provisions confiscated, and the wretched workman returned to his home minus money and flour and having lost two or three days' work. These food-hunting expeditions disorganized the whole of the factories, as a third of the men were always absent. When it is remembered that clothing, rent, and other necessaries had also to be provided out of the 500 roubles, it will be understood how deplorable were the conditions of life. Materials and made-up clothing were also rationed, but there was hardly enough to supply the needs of one-tenth of the population. The result of this struggle between the workmen and the Government, and the inefficiency of the latter's subordinate officials, is that the Russian factories are rapidly falling into a state of ruin. Output has decreased in some cases 90 per cent, and as there is no available supply of fuel or raw materials it is only a question of a few months, if the Bolsheviks remain in power, before the factories will be forced to close down.

Repression of Democracy.—After the July Congress and the anti-Bolshevik demonstration of the Left Social Revolutionaries, non-Bolshevik Socialists were deprived of all political rights, hundreds of Socialist workmen were thrown into prison and large numbers were shot. In addition 3,000 workmen were thrown out of employment in the tramway repairing shops in Moscow simply on the ground of their Social Revolutionary sympathies.

The best illustration of the autocratic rule under which the workmen now exist is the fact that all public expression of public opinion has been forbidden. All non-Bolshevik newspapers have been suppressed, including even "The Independent Socialist," whose editor, Martov, had a world-wide reputation in Socialist circles. All public meetings except those organized by the Bolsheviks are prohibited, and the Bolsheviks call themselves "The Peasants' and Workmen's Government."

The most serious crime in the eyes of the Bolsheviks is anti-Bolshevism, and the work of discovering and punishing offenders of this kind is in the hands of the Extraordinary Commission—an autocratic body which arrests, examines, imprisons, and executes at will. There is no charge, no public trial, and no appeal. There are English works-foremen in prison in Moscow to-day with nothing against them except the fact that they happened to be in a certain street or square at the time when the Red Guards took it into their heads to make a general arrest. Appeals from the Red Cross and the neutral consuls are unavailing. The Kommissar in charge of the case is away ill and nothing can be done till his return. Crimes of street robbery, etc., are punished in a rough and ready way: the offender is shot on the spot and the body left there till someone thinks good to remove it.

LIFE IN THE PRISONS.

"To describe the life inside the prisons would require the pen of Charles Reade. Even using the greatest restraint and moderation, any account must appear exaggerated and hysterical to English readers. In verminous, ill-ventilated cells, starved and terrorized people are crowded together in one room, women, young girls (the latter held as hostages to force their hiding fathers or brothers to give themselves up). At six o'clock in the evening the doors are locked and no one is allowed out for any reason till morning, except those called out at about 3 a.m. for execution. Healthy and sick (some with cholera) are huddled on the floor, uncertain of their fate and knowing it is out of the power of anyone to help them. The food consists of one-quarter of a pound of black bread and a bowl of hot water in which are floating some pieces of cabbage and occasionally a few fish heads. Red Cross officials noticed a rapid change in the appearance of prisoners; they looked each day more haggard, drawn, and hopeless."

*[*As some of those who have handed in reports or been interviewed have relatives and property in Russia and contemplate returning there after the Bolshevik regime is at an end, their names have been suppressed.*]

MILLS DEMORALIZED.

Report by Mr. H....., Valdimir, October 14, 1918.

"Our mills continued to work under the most adverse conditions, which grew from bad to worse during the course of the years 1917–1918, owing to labour disorganization, shortage of raw material, money (from a balance of 35,000,000 rubles we now owe 25,000,000 roubles to the State Bank), and finally of food for the workpeople. The large shell manufacturing plant which during the course of the war we had developed had to be closed down by orders of the Soviet. Famine and cholera finally made their appearance, and the workpeople and their families (especially children) commenced to die and to grow so weak as to seriously impair their capacity for work. My co-directors and self were powerless to do anything to help or do anything in the matter as the Soviet had taken over everything connected with the working of the concern, putting in utterly incapable people such as doorkeepers, watchmen, etc., to supervise work demanding long experience and technical and medical knowledge, even interfering with the hospital administration, where the man cook supervised the work of our doctors.

As the (mill) position grew worse and matters became impossible I was charged with sabotage and working as an agent of England to paralyse industry in our district. All the sales and purchases of materials and goods were made through the agency of the Soviet, who employed dishonest persons with the result that though our goods were ostensibly sold to various representative bodies such as other Soviet organizations, in reality they were made the objects of speculation and theft, and sold in some cases to known German agents and sent to Germany. This was known to the workpeople, who were greatly excited by the matter. Shortage of food, the supply and disposal of which became a

Soviet monopoly, with the usual result of stopping all supplies, forced the workpeople to travel to the grain districts in the South and East of Russia and obtain supplies there themselves. The supplies, in order to preserve the principle of Soviet monopoly, were usually confiscated by the Red Army requisition commandoes from the unfortunate people on their return journeys on the railways. These Red Army requisition commandoes are charged with the duty of stopping all private trading and so-called speculation, but being in many cases utterly devoid of any idea of honesty or duty, merely took the food and resold same, in many cases to the people again. Eventually there was no more money to be had, the workpeople having even exhausted their savings. In addition, the journey undertaken to obtain food was long, costly and arduous, and generally 50 per cent of the people were away from their occupation, losing their wages and so making their position still worse, and congesting the railways. At the same time members of the local Soviet were continually seen in a drunken condition and were evidently living well. Exasperation grew, and finally the workpeople, with whom joined many of the peasants in the district, came in a body to me and asked my aid, but I was powerless to help. In addition, I had to be very careful as my words and actions could have been so misconstrued to the Soviet as to cause them to think that I was interfering in their functions. The fact of the people coming to me as of old for help alarmed the Soviet authorities, and open threats were made against me and arrests of workmen followed. This was at the time of the outrage at the British Embassy at Petrograd, and on receipt of news of same I was advised to leave by certain members of the Soviet. A meeting was then called by order of the Moscow authorities in order to choose the quota of members of the requisition commandoes of the Red Army from amongst the workpeople, who answered the summons by picking the members of the local Soviet, who were bitterly attacked and the actions and authority of the Soviet Government repudiated. The speakers were arrested and on the demand of the crowd of workpeople, numbering some 20,000, to release them, the guard of the local prison consisting of members of the Red Army opened fire, killing and wounding, it was stated, over 100 people. In addition many were badly hurt in the panic which ensued. On the following day all the mills and works in the district were stopped, the workpeople striking as a protest. I then left the district for Moscow, not wishing to be made the centre of an anti-Soviet movement; especially as the authorities were accusing the British and French representatives as being the cause of the many disturbances which were occurring all over the country, but which in reality were caused by their own reckless, unscrupulous, and utterly dishonest conduct.

My house, with all contents, horses, carriages, clothing, etc., were confiscated or "requisitioned" by the local Soviet. In addition all my holding in the firm, including shares and loan money, were taken over by the Central Government, and jewellery, plate and papers placed in the safe of the library at the Anglican Church, and furs stored in cold storage in Moscow were confiscated by the Moscow Tribunal."

TRADE CONDITIONS IN CENTRAL RUSSIA.

Recent Legislation.—"All lands, buildings, machinery, etc., were now nationalized, without any compensation being paid to the former owners.

The result has been an utter deadlock, all private enterprise being killed. Money is being hidden to an enormous extent, the absence of which is being made good as quickly as ever possible by the Soviet's printing presses; private printing establishments being taken over for this purpose. It is estimated that the quantity of paper currency in circulation is now over 30,000,000,000 roubles, roughly 100 times the present gold reserve. A great quantity of false money is also being printed and being brought into circulation, especially the 20- and the 40-rouble note varieties. All private trading is being taken over by the Government and the stocks are being confiscated.

Gold articles over a certain weight are confiscated, with the result that same have disappeared, being hidden by the owners. The system of education has been entirely altered. All religious instruction has been abolished, and in its place a form of State Socialistic instruction substituted. The peasantry now refuse to send their children to the State schools and they remain without education. Clothing, such as winter overcoats, belonging to private people are being confiscated for the benefit of the Red Army. No man is supposed to possess more than one suit of clothes, two changes of linen, or two pairs of boots; anything above this is requisitioned for so-called State purposes. All furniture is nationalized.

Political Conditions.—Throughout the districts occupied or administered by the Soviet Government 90 per cent of the population is against the administration, and probably not more than 5 per cent actively support the same. This 5 per cent consists of returned political refugees, mostly non-Russian in race, members of the many committees, commissariats, and Government's Departments, Red Army recruits, who are receiving high wages, and a certain number of fanatics, mostly young, of both sexes. The remaining 5 per cent support the Soviets simply owing to the fact that they are dependent on them for a living."

FAMINE IN PETROGRAD AND MOSCOW

Memorandum on Conditions in Moscow by a British Subject who left Moscow on December 1, 1918:—

When we turn from the general aims of the Bolshevik policy to the actual situation in the big cities, as Petrograd and Moscow at the time when I left, it could be summed up in one word—famine. As regards Petrograd, its population now has come down to 908,000, whereas in 1916 it was estimated at 2,500,000 to 2,600,000 people. Two-thirds of the population have been able to escape to other parts of the country, and the one-third remaining is reduced to starvation. The prices for food have risen to such an extent that all the principal commodities are out of the reach of the buyer. The amount of food which is allowed by rations is in itself absolutely insufficient to keep up life, and then it is hardly regularly received; sometimes bread is not received for two days consecutively. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the Russian population is divided into four classes, the educated and capitalist class being put into the third and fourth category, receiving three or four times less than the work-

men and other classes, who are in the first and respectable category. Even the workman who gets four times more than others cannot live on his ration, and must buy bread and other commodities in an underhand way, the open sale of them being forbidden. In order to give an instance, I wish just to say that an egg cost when I left, six roubles; a bottle of milk, six or seven roubles; a pound of bread, fourteen to seventeen roubles. The class which is the best fed is the Red Army and the Bolshevik officers.

The foreign press has, as I understand, published some details about the September massacres in Petrograd, when more than one thousand men were shot in Kronstadt and at the Peter-Paul Fortress indiscriminately, without any trial, not even the pretence of a court-martial; shot, or drowned, as was the case with Father Ornatsky, the well-known priest of the Kazan Cathedral in Petrograd, who was drowned with his two young sons, who were officers, along with many others. Whereas the shooting in big towns has during the last months decreased owing to Lenin's personal dislike of Red terrorism, it is continuing in the provinces, where priests, landowners, physicians, rich merchants, lawyers, are indiscriminately shot in cold blood, without any trial and without any reason besides a general pretext of being counter-revolutionists. Arrests and domestic searches are going on as before. There are some thousands of men and women starving in the prisons of Petrograd—professors of universities, eminent lawyers, priests, generals, officers, ladies of society, bankers, etc. There are towns and districts where all the priests who have to wear their hair long in accordance with religious custom now have been forced to have it cut short. In other towns churches have been desecrated and bishops arrested or shot.

A special measure, in order to complete the humiliation of the *bourgeoisie*, compulsorily forced labour, to which all the *bourgeoisie* men and women are liable, consists in men from 20 to 60 being sent on all sorts of jobs, discharging of coal, cleaning water-closets in the soldiers' barracks, digging graves in cemeteries, removing cholera stricken patients, etc.; and for the women being obliged to wash the dirty linen of the barracks, or other like jobs for a month. In case of the women with delicate health, and of elderly men, death from exposure or severe illness after a week or two of such labour, which is usually conducted under the most humiliating conditions, is not seldom.

Under the conditions which I have outlined above it is not astonishing that disaffection is growing, and it must be said that it is growing in all classes of the population. It is evident that the attitude of the educated classes against Bolshevism is one of impotent hatred. The news given out by Bolshevik employees that the intellectual and *bourgeoisie* classes have allied themselves with the Bolsheviks is a deliberate falsehood. It is true that thousands upon thousands of these people have been induced to work under the Bolsheviks to accept some salaried situation with the government, but in respect to the working classes it must be borne in mind that the industrial working man has practically disappeared. Bolshevism has ruined Russian industry. The great bulk of the big factories, workshops, or mills do not work for a great many months, for want of raw materials. The workmen received from the State full pay for some time,

but afterwards had to choose either to return to the villages or to enlist in the Red Army, and in most cases they did the latter. The small artisan is starving to death, which explains his anti-Bolshevik attitude. There remains the peasant far away in his village, rich with paper money and bread, which he does not want to give away, but the Bolsheviks are sending armed expeditions to steal bread which they want to feed the Red Army. The shooting of peasants by the Red Guards coming down for bread is an every-day feature. Revolutions have broken out, and nearly everywhere they are being quelled with blood. When we ask ourselves who are the classes who support the Bolsheviks, the answer would be that they consist of the people who are fed and paid by the Bolsheviks, the Red Army, and the not less numerous army of paid Government officials. All of them are paid more and fed better than the population amongst whom they live, and, with the present food conditions, it is not astonishing that they stick to the Bolsheviks. The Red Army and the numerous army of different commissioners have also an unlimited opportunity of plundering the peaceful population of which they avail themselves to an extent, which, in the small provincial towns in the country, is simply terrifying, and which brings around the Bolsheviks all the lowest classes of the population. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Bolshevism had for many years its best recruits from among the young workmen of big factories, who, as stated above, have now enlisted in the Red Army, and who form the Socialist nucleus of the State.

All political parties are declared to be outside the pale of the law, as counter-revolutionary, and the old Socialist parties, if they try to make public opposition to the Bolshevist tyranny, fare no better than the Liberal parties. Especially the Socialist-Revolutionary party is subject to the most violent and bloody persecution. Under these circumstances, can it astonish anyone that public opinion, terrorized by imprisonment and numberless executions, remains dumb?

It must not be forgotten that the Bolsheviks have formed small committees of the so-called poorest peasants in each village, who are armed with rifles, and often machine guns, and who, being representative of the proletariat, have to exercise the dictatorship of the people over the village *bourgeoisie*, making up the majority of peasants. The well-to-do peasant is thus completely excluded from any public activity, and is kept terrorized by these committees, which in many cases are composed of the worst elements of the village, drunkards, ex-convicts, etc. Further, it cannot be doubted that the Russian people are worn out by the war and by the revolution, and that the love of peace which was always a permanent feature of its national character has been enhanced and has developed itself into an attitude of dumb suffering.

The impartial reader of the Bolshevist press, and it must be taken into consideration that there does not exist any press with the exception of the official one now in Russia, can read in these official papers every day articles and information about local revolts which happen daily in various parts of the country, mostly villages where the peasants rise in an entirely unorganized way against the power of the Soviet. In the second part of November such revolts have taken place in nearly all the districts of the Government of Moscow, and were suppressed mercilessly by the Red Army, composed to a considerable extent of Chinese and Letts.

As regards food distribution, it is admitted even by the Bolsheviks that in no department of Government is there so much corruption as among the numberless officials who control the food administration. The organization of the food distribution is, of course, mainly governed by the fact that there is scarcely any food to be distributed.

Russian industry is dead for the moment, and the Russian industrial workman has ceased to exist as a class for the time being. It is an extremely curious feature of the Russian Revolution that a movement which has proclaimed itself as social and democratic has achieved in the first instance total destruction of those social groups on which a social democratic organization is mainly based, the class of the industrial workmen. All factories, all the important ones with a few exceptions of those who are still engaged on munition work, are stopped, and the industrial workman had either to return to the village with which he had no more ties in common or to enlist in the Red Army. The younger generation of the workmen, men of 19 to 26 years, have to a great extent chosen the second alternative, and it is they who form the Bolshevik nucleus of the Red Army. To speak of the growing success of the management of industrial concerns by Soviet is an absolute misrepresentation. It would be sufficient in order to disprove this statement to cite the instance of the most important factories and works in Petrograd, Moscow and Nishny, where factories which engaged usually may thousands occupy now a few hundred men.

As regards Petrograd, the number of executions is usually taken at 1,300, though the Bolsheviks admitted only 500, but then they do not take into account many hundreds of officers, former civil servants and private individuals, who were shot in Kronstadt, and in the Peter and Paul Fortress in Petrograd, without any special order from the Central authorities, by discretion of the local Soviet; 400 were shot during one night in Kronstadt alone; three big graves were dug in the courtyard and the 400 placed before it, then they were shot one after another.

The Extraordinary Commission of Petrograd had on the orders of the day of one of their sittings the question of the application of torture. It is common knowledge that the unfortunate Jewish student who killed Britozsky was tortured three or four times before his execution.

The Oboukhoff works were, in their majority, supporters of the Social Revolutionary party, or of the other moderate socialist organizations. They summoned a meeting of the workmen at which, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution was carried insisting upon the Bolsheviks putting an end to the civil war, and reconstructing the Government on lines which would admit the participation of all socialistic parties. The Bolsheviks answered with a general lockout of the workmen and the closing of the Oboukhoff works.

The population is everywhere divided into four classes for purposes of rationing, the middle, and " parasitic " classes, being in the third and fourth divisions, getting one-quarter or one-eighth of the rations accorded to the workmen and the clerks, but even these rations remain mostly on paper, as there is not food enough to give them."

(MEMORANDUM ON CONDITIONS IN MOSCOW BY A BRITISH SUBJECT WHO LEFT MOSCOW ON DEC. 1.)

" All I can say is that the number of people who have been coldly done to death in Moscow is enormous. Many thousands have been shot, but lately those condemned to death were hung instead, and that in the most brutal manner. They were taken out in batches in the early hours of the morning to a place on the outskirts of the town, stripped to their shirts and then hung one by one by being drawn up at the end of a rope until their feet were a few inches from the ground and then left to die. The work was done by Mongolian soldiers. Shooting was too noisy and not sure enough. Men have crawled away after a volley, and others have been buried while still alive. I was told in Stockholm by one of the representatives of the Esthonian Government about 150 Russian officers who were taken prisoners at Pskoff by the Red Guards were given over to the Mongolian soldiers, who sawed them in pieces."

[*From Mr. Alston to Hon. A. J. Balfour, dated Vladivostok, January 2, 1919.*]

" I have derived the following information, which may be considered authentic, with regard to position in Moscow, partly from the Vladivostock press, and partly from persons having connections there:—

With the exception of the Bolsheviks, the whole population is terrorized almost to a point of physical paralysis and imbecility. Slender supplies of even the simplest food are only to be had when the watch of the Bolshevik guard weakens, and three-quarters of the people are slowly starving to death. At the expense of the poor, hoarders see their chance to realize enormous profits. Throughout the daylight hours, long queues wait to try to get half-pound of tea, potatoes, or a bit of fish. Tea may be anything up to 100 roubles per pound, coarse black bread varies from 15 to 20 roubles per pound, according to the section of the town in which it is sold, and sugar is 50 roubles a pound, when obtainable. A second-hand suit of clothes costs anything up to 2,000 roubles, and a pair of boots 800 roubles. Horseflesh is the mainstay of the population at present, but even supplies of that are fast dwindling. Five hundred hostages were taken to Kronstadt for reprisals, soon after attempted assassination of Lenine, and these were subjected to most horrible tortures. The people often prefer to starve rather than risk torture at the hands of Chinese and Lettish hooligans who form " militia " on streets, and cower in their cellars, numbed with cold. To avoid extermination, the " intellectuals " have largely gone into the service of Bolsheviks. Their wages are insignificant if compared even with the camp followers of Bolshevik garrisons, who, at any rate, get fed fairly regularly.

All officers were ordered in July to report to Alexandrovsky school to be registered. About 20,000 appeared, and were shut up for three days without air, food, or sleep. Many went mad, and Lettish and Chinese guard mercilessly bayonetted those who attempted to escape when they were finally let out.

Residents in area round Butirsky prison abandoned their houses owing to the numerous executions of " counter-revolutionary intellectuals."

Every day typhoid and tuberculosis are increasing, and ordinary population are quite unable to procure medical supplies even at the most outrageous prices.

Infants have been nationalized and become property of State upon attaining the age of eighteen.

As Petrograd has ceased to be the Bolshevik headquarters, military situation there is better. In spite of this, after the murder of Uritsky, the Bolshevik commissary, the town virtually ran with blood. Owing to there being less food even than in Moscow, the death roll from disease is much higher. This is also due to the fact that, without being buried, corpses of horses, dogs, and human beings lie about in the streets.

Cholera took very heavy toll in summer, as all the canals are polluted with decomposed bodies of men and animals.

Things are considerably better on Viborg side, but although Bolsheviks get food themselves, they take good care that none gets to the *bourgeoisie* from Finland side.

It may be considered that whole population of Petrograd is virtually insane, if not hunger-stricken, and, unlike the people in Moscow, who have suffered less, it is unable to appreciate possibility of utter extermination of educated elements. To release and provide food for themselves and their armies, Bolsheviks will be forced ultimately to kill off the greater portion of population. In any of big towns, as at Petrograd, Moscow, and Kursk, a horrible massacre is possible at any moment.

[*From Mr. Alston to Hon. A. J. Balfour dated Vladivostok.*]

" Although I am sure it has not escaped your notice, I venture to draw your attention to a feature in situation, when considering future policy in Russia.

There will be serious shortage of foodstuffs in Europe so long as the fields of Russia are unproductive, or their produce is unable to be exported, as Russia is the principal granary of Europe and supplies all the contiguous States with the bulk of their imported cereals.

During present winter it is practically certain that, owing to disorganization brought about by efforts of Lenine and Trotsky, tens, if not hundreds of thousands of Russians will perish from starvation. The 1919 harvests will amount only to a fraction of pre-war productions if there is no marked improvement of internal situation before early spring. The Allies and other nations, will find themselves morally bound to export foodstuffs to Russia to avert a catastrophe during present winter, instead of importing foodstuffs from Russia during winter of 1919–20. Certain parties in Allied countries represent military intervention as forcible repression of working classes at instigation of capitalists, and not merely as an effort to restore order and render Russia once more self-supporting. Of course this is what Bolsheviks maintain, and they justify their excesses and atrocities on the pretext that they are engaged in a struggle against capitalism abroad and at

home. Their deluded followers support them, not because they believe this, but because Bolsheviks control food supplies, and alternative to joining them is starvation. The fact that alternative is starvation will soon be plain to neutral countries. For a few months population may subsist on plunder and devastation, but the result is inevitable when all creative and productive enterprise is at a standstill. Currency has been wrecked, all industries have been destroyed, and labour has been encouraged to believe that instead of working to obtain livelihood, there are easier methods of obtaining it. The whole country will be suffering from disorganization of currency and transport, unless more energetic measures are adopted for restoration of order, and it will be impossible to produce harvests adequate for population.

Intervention on a larger scale than hitherto attempted would therefore seem necessary if the situation is to be saved before the next harvests are sown.

It is absurd to pretend that effective military intervention would be an espousal of cause of capitalism against labour and an act of oppression. Destruction and production are the forces opposed, not capitalism and labour. It seems to be the duty of the Allies, not only to themselves, but to humanity, to restore order in Russia.

[*From Mr. Alston to Hon. A. J. Balfour dated Vladivostok, January 5, 1919.*]

Following from British consul, Ekaterinburg, of 3rd January:—

"Having just returned from Perm after taken by Siberian Army under General Peplief. Tremendous booty was captured, including 4,000 wagons, 260 locomotives, 70 per cent of which working condition; 30,000 prisoners, 50 guns, 10 armoured cars, great number automobiles, and other material not yet counted. Part of 4,000 wagons captured full every conceivable domestic material stolen from shops and inhabitants, loaded for evacuation by Bolsheviks. Bridge across Kama intact. From interviews, local authorities and inhabitants, would appear that Bolsheviks subjected inhabitants to horrible repressions and cruelties, especially after attempt Lenin's life. Have examined witnesses who found bodies of their relatives killed by bayonet wounds, faces wearing marks boot nails; no bullet marks found on these bodies. Instruments used for torturing victims also found. No data available regarding number people killed; number educated people inquiring for missing male relatives stated by authorities as being very great. Educated population during last three months have been practically starving, food allowances only being given to people employed by Bolsheviks. Food supply of Bolsheviks, however, not great, one pound bad bread being allowed daily for workmen. Taking of Perm has great economic significance."

[*From Major N. E. Reilly, I.A., Assistant Political Agent, Chitral, to the Honourable the Chief Commissioner, North-Western Frontier Province, dated Chitral, January, 7, 1919.*]

I have the honour to report that a party of Russian refugees has arrived at Mastuj.

I understand that they have sought British protection as, expecting the arrival of a Bolshevik commissioner at Kharog, they considered their lives to be in danger.

" The Bolsheviks are stated to have bayonetted the brother and nephew of Captain Chkapsky, whilst I also understood from Captain Besobrazor that all his family had been murdered by Bolsheviks at Tashkent.

They state that the Bolsheviks are destroying everything, and that at Tashkent the daily allowance had been reduced to one-quarter pound (Russian) of bread per head."

From General Poole to the British War Office, dated January 11, 1919.

" From intercepted radios and leaflets it is clear that, to allay hostility abroad, Bolsheviks are conducting double campaign. Leaflets are distributed among German troops, while decrees which are not intended to be put into force, and appeals are radioed to Berlin, which show Bolsheviks in sufficiently liberal light to bring them into line with German Socialists. Appeals to unite and force world-wide revolution are made at the same time to proletariats. It is manifest from numerous deserters and refugees from Central Russia efforts to destroy social and economic life of country have not abated. There is evidence to show that commissariats of free love have been established in several towns, and respectable women flogged for refusing to yield. Decree for nationalization of women has been put into force, and several experiments made to nationalize children. I trust His Majesty's Government will not allow Peace Conference to be influenced by Bolshevik presentation of their case abroad, as their action at home is diametrically opposed to this."

[*From Mr. Alston to Mr. Balfour, dated Vladivostok, January 14, 1919.*]

" I have received following from consul at Ekaterinburg, dated the 13th January:—

The number of innocent civilians brutally murdered in Ural towns run into hundreds. Officers taken prisoners by Bolsheviks here had their shoulder straps nailed into their shoulders, girls have been raped, some of the civilians have been found with their eyes pierced out, others without noses, whilst twenty-five priests were shot at Perm, Bishop Adronick having been buried alive there.

I have been promised the total number of killed and other details, when available."

[*From General Knox to British War Office, dated Omsk, January 15, 1919.*]

" An officer has just returned from a few days' visit to Perm. Before the revolution he was employed at Perm. He states that he arrived there on the 28th December. The town was captured by the Bolsheviks on the 24th, and they fed no one except those in their employ. He says he was unable to recognize his old acquaintances, as their cheeks were sunken, their faces were yellow, and they looked like palsied old men. The Bolsheviks have raised a battalion of 700 officers, but they will have to be fed for several weeks before they are in a condition to fight. Starvation will, he says, claim half the population of the towns before

June if Bolshevism is not stamped out in Russia. The peasants hate the Bolsheviks owing to the constant requisitions, but they are better off. The peasants will only sow sufficient for their own needs for next harvest. He is of opinion that Bolsheviks will not be suppressed without the use of outside force, as anti-Bolshevik classes are too enfeebled by hunger to make any effort. There are of course numerous murders. There was one commissary who used to have a dozen prisoners out every night, and before loading by ball-cartridge, made the firing party snap their rifles at them ten or a dozen times. As the educated workmen have been taken away by the Bolsheviks, the chances of the factories producing anything for several months is negligible. It is difficult to bring coal from the Ural mountains, as the bridges over the Chusovbravaya, east of Perm, have been destroyed. Is it possible that public opinion in Allied countries will allow Bolsheviks to continue this wholesale murder? They will, moreover, increase in strength as Russians have to serve them or starve. This matter is not one that only concerns Russia, as the food supply of the world is affected.

[*From Mr. Alston to Mr. Balfour, dated Vladivostok, Jan. 18, 1919.*]

"I have been given following information by member of Red Cross Mission, Dr. T———, who has just returned to Vladivostok from the neighbourhood of Perm. He says that for rank barbarous brutality, the horrors which he has witnessed of Bolshevik legacies in the localities which they evacuated, the tortures and mutilations performed on wounded and others before death, baffle description. Even ferocity of Turks in Armenia cannot be compared with what is now being done in Russia by Bolsheviks.

Dr. T——— understands the Russian point of view, as he has been in actual contact with Bolshevism.

When I asked him to furnish more precise details, he told me it was difficult to furnish the dates, exact spots, names, etc. The report from Ekaterinburg of brutal murder of hundreds of innocent civilians at Perm, of mutilation of priests, and of tortures, such as of officers having their shoulder straps nailed into their shoulders is, however, absolutely confirmed by him.

Dr. T——— found on battlefield during fighting in Usuri district in July, 1918, bodies of Czech soldiers in frightful state of mutilation, their private parts cut off, their heads cut open, their faces slashed, their eyes gouged out, and their tongues cut out. A doctor of H.M.S. *Suffolk* attended four of such cases, which were brought to Vladivostok for official investigation. These mutilations were inflicted before death, according to verdict given.

The local representative of Czech National Council, Dr. Girsa, and his assistant, state that over a year ago hundreds of officers were shot at Kief, when Bolsheviks captured that city. Premier Rodzianko was shot, and massacre of Prince Yashuisen was brutal murder. In the face of bitterest cold these men were taken from their homes and thrown into automobiles and carts, and, except for their caps, were made to strip naked. In the biting cold they were forced for hours to stand in line, and Bolshevik soldiers were given liberty of shooting them in groups or singly, as it pleased their fancy.

Dr. Girsa was surgeon in civilian hospital No. 12 at this time. This hospital was crowded with patients on account of the ruthless manner in which

the Bolsheviks were attacking the more educated classes and the officers in the city of Kief. It was necessary to hide officers in closets, even when mortally wounded, to prevent Bolsheviks coming in and taking them out to be shot in the streets.

Many seriously wounded were taken from Kief hospitals and ruthlessly murdered in the streets. Bolsheviks forced into the streets and shot men with abdominal wounds, broken limbs, and grave injuries in other parts of their bodies. He recollects seeing officers being eaten by dogs in the streets of Kief. Wife of Dr. Girsa's assistant herself saw an automobile load of frozen bodies of dead officers being carried through the streets to a dumping ground outside the town.

These men were forced out of their homes in the middle of the night, hospital beds were emptied, patients who were seriously ill were ruthlessly slaughtered and men shot without mercy and without trial.

A surgeon in the employment of the Red Cross at Vladivostok verified these accounts. He himself saw such crimes, and fled from the vicinity of Moscow in terror with his wife. Photographs of murdered civilians were shown me."

From Colonel Wade to British Peace Conference Commission, Paris, and Foreign Office dated Warsaw, January 19, 1919.

" Number of Corean and Chinese units is reported to be increasing by persons arriving from Ukraine and Soviet Russia. Sole object of these units is plunder, as they are merely bandits and not a regular army. Gravity of situation created by this new development cannot be sufficiently emphasised."

[*From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, January 23, 1919.*]

" Following from High Commissioner:—

" Following statements respecting Bolsheviks in Perm and neighbourhood are taken from reports sent by His Majesty's consul at Ekaterinburg. The Omsk Government have similar information:—

"The Bolsheviks can no longer be described as a political party holding extreme communistic view. They form relatively small privileged class which is able to terrorize the rest of the population because it has a monopoly both of arms and of food supplies. This class consists chiefly of workmen and soldiers, and included a large non-Russian element, such as Letts and Esthonians and Jews; the latter are specially numerous in higher posts. Members of this class are allowed complete license, and commit crime against other sections of society.

" The army is well disciplined, as a most strict system especially is applied to it.

" It is generally said that officers are forced to serve because their families are detained as hostages. The population of Perm was rationed, and non-Bolsheviks received only one-quarter of a pound of bread a day."

" The peasantry suffered less, but were forbidden under pain of death to sell food to any but Bolsheviks.

" The churches were closed, for many priests were killed, and a bishop was buried alive.

"This and other barbarous punishments, such as dipping people in rivers till they were frozen to death. Those condemned to be shot were led out several times and fired at with blank cartridges, never knowing when the real execution would take place. Many other atrocities are reported.

"The Bolsheviks apparently were guilty of wholesale murder in Perm, and it is certain that they had begun to operate a plan of systematic extermination. On a lamp above a building were the words: 'Only those who fight shall eat'."

[*From Lord Kilmarnock to Earl Curzon, dated Copenhagen, January 21, 1919.*]

I have the honour to report that a reliable Danish engineer, employed in the Ryabusinsky factory near Moscow, who has travelled considerably in Russia lately, and who left Petrograd on the 11th instant, reports that there is growing a tendency on the part of the Central Committees to disregard the local committees and to absorb all the power. Though the Bolshevik regime was more hated than ever, resistance from inside was less strong, and as nearly the whole population was suffering from starvation the people were physically incapable of throwing off the yoke of the oppressors, informant stated that recently, in connection with arranging a credit for his factory, he had to deal with the committees, and he was surprised to find how largely they were recruited from former officers, directors of factories, etc., and he said that every day there were fewer people who refused to serve the Red Guard. The hostility between the soldiers and the peasants was less acute as the stocks of the latter were now exhausted and they no longer feared the arbitrary requisitions of the guards. Only the smaller peasants were admitted to the committees.

The Chinese guard in Petrograd numbered about 5,000 and discipline in the Bolshevik army was severer than ever before and executions as numerous. Peasants were being mobilized, but as they resisted, they were always distributed in several regiments so that there should be no large focus in any particular regiment.

His own factory, which had been nationalized, was still working and 6,000 workmen were employed. Though there were still a few Bolsheviks among them, the majority had gradually seceded and had given up their belief in Bolshevism. As the factory owned a forest they were still able to get fuel, and shoddy goods were turned out, which were handed over to the Central, but my informant states that they were not sold, but were added to the stocks of goods collected by the Central. His factory was one of the few that were still working as, owing to lack of raw materials and especially of fuel, one after another had been obliged to close down. A passenger train ran daily between Petrograd and Moscow and a few goods trains, but owing to lack of fuel it was stated that this service would be further curtailed.

As regards food conditions, the situation was getting worse day by day, and in Petrograd the majority of persons were living on half-pound of oats a day. The Red Guards were better off, as they could still obtain small quantities of tea, sugar, and bread, but even for the highest prices other people could not get food.

Transport difficulties increased day by day as there were hardly any horses left in Petrograd, and innumerable formalities had to be gone through before a parcel could be taken from a shop or a store. All transport without a permit was prohibited. The food question dominated all others.

[*From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, February 2, 1919.*]

"Following from High Commissioner 31st January:—

"Following details respecting Bolshevik regime at Lisva, a town of 30,000 inhabitants between Ekaterinburg and Perm, were given to me by Mr. T....., a British subject, who was there until 17th December, when the town was taken.

"Life was tolerable until July. A system of rations was in force before Bolsheviks came into power, and was not at first abused.

"Terrorism began after attempt on Lenine in July. Considerable number of people were shot in Lisva and other towns for no apparent reason. Persons were arrested and had to bail themselves out often several times, and often under threats of death. Orders were received to arrest all foreigners, especially British and French. Mr. T——— was able to hide, and was only under arrest for a short time.

"In the town there were 25 commissioners and 1,000 smaller officials. They drew 6,000,000 roubles salary, occupied houses of the upper and middle classes, and had plenty of provisions, as had also the soldiers.

"Non-Bolsheviks had quarter-pound of bread per day.

"He thought wholesale murder or bodily torture was the exception, but he confirmed reports of people being led out to be shot several times. Many people went mad under this and similar mental agony.

"Churches were not closed, but soldiers were forbidden attendance, and bells were not rung. Only civil marriages were permitted. He had heard nothing about nationalization of women.

"Army was well disciplined, and he believes it is still formidable. Officers forced to serve in it did not seem to mind their position as much as might be expected. Soldiers were allowed to loot freely. When Lisva was evacuated 1,800 prisoners were removed to Perm.

" Considered as a machine for executing its own purposes, he thought Bolshevik administration efficient and energetic. There was a regular service of trains between Urals and European Russia, but only Bolshevik officers could have passenger car, others travelling in trucks.

" Peasantry were against Bolsheviks because they were subject to unnecessary requisitions, whereas workmen had much higher wages and did much less work than formerly.

" Mr. T—— said that we ought not to treat with them as political party, and that he believed conditions of life in Petrograd and Moscow were terrible, and much worse than in Eastern Russia."

[*Interview with Mr. A. and Mr. B., who left Moscow on January 21, 1919.*]

Mr. A. and Mr. B., two British subjects who left Moscow on the 21st January, were interviewed at the Foreign Office on the 10th February about present conditions in Moscow.

Mr. B., who was a teacher in a Moscow secondary school, the "practical academy," gave the following information about conditions in the school in which he taught. This school was typical of many others.

Each class has its committee, and as a rule, the most popular boy is chosen to represent the others at the masters' meetings. The objects of the committees are: (1) to control the masters; (2) to arrange about the distribution of food, all the boys and girls in the school being given a mid-day meal. This is, as a matter of fact, the only reason that they go to school at all.

Both boys and girls are herded together, and there is no semblance of morality. The entire absence of discipline in this connection is having an extremely bad effect on the coming generation. In the classes all semblance of discipline has been destroyed. The children do exactly as they like, sometimes walking out in the middle of a lesson. This is especially the case in the lesson before the mid-day meal, as they are all anxious to get the first places. No punishments, no home-work and no marks are allowed. The attendance is abominable, the children coming and going just as they think fit. It is impossible to keep order, and the classes are simply like a bear-garden. If a master does not happen to be popular, the boys turn him out. Sometimes a master may go to a class to give a lesson, only to find the boys holding a committee meeting which must not be disturbed.

At Kolomna, between Moscow and Kazan, a boy aged 18 was appointed commissar of the whole school, being in charge of all the teachers. On one occasion he closed the school for a whole week because one of the masters gave a boy a bad mark.

The universities suffer from the same lack of discipline. Any boy of 16 years of age is entitled to enter the university without showing any certificate, so that even if a boy is unable to read or write, he can still enter the university.

The Bolsheviks have advertised far and wide the benefits of the new proletarian culture. The above facts throw an interesting light on the way it works in practice.

Mr. A., who is a Moscow man, gave the following information about: (1) the "terror"; (2) conditions in factories with which he was acquainted; (3) the shops in Moscow :—

1. *The "Terror."*—Executions still continue in the prisons, though the ordinary people do not hear about them. Often during the executions a regimental band plays lively tunes. The following account of an execution was given to Mr. A. by a member of one of the bands. On one occasion he was playing in the band, and as usual, all the people to be executed were brought to the edge of the grave. Their hands and feet were tied together so that they would fall forward into the grave. They were then shot through the neck by Lettish

soldiers. When the last man had been shot the grave was closed up, and on this particular occasion, the band-man saw the grave moving. Not being able to stand the sight of it, he fainted, whereupon the Bolsheviks seized him, saying that he was in sympathy with the prisoners. They were on the point of killing him, but other members of the band explained that he was really ill, and he was then let off. Among the prisoners shot on that occasion was a priest, who asked permission to say a prayer before being shot, to which the Bolsheviks replied laconically, " Ne Nado " (It is not necessary).

2. *Conditions in factories.*—" At the principal factory at Kolomna, a town on the Moscow and Kazan Railway, there are only about 5,000 workers out of the normal total of 25,000. The factory is run by a committee of three—one workman, one engineer, and one director. Here as everywhere, all the workmen are discontented and would much prefer the old management. The situation is intolerable. Nobody works and nobody wants to work, while the one and only topic of conversation is food. All the people are discontented because they have not got enough to eat.

At Domodedova, near Moscow, the fine-cloth factory was still working before Christmas, but the output was estimated at 5 per cent of the normal. The factory was run by a Committee of Workmen, but the owner used to meet the Committee occasionally to discuss the working of the factory with them, and to give them advice. All the workmen were discontented with the way in which the factory was run, and most of them wanted the old managers back again. But as long as the Bolsheviks pay the men high wages they will stay there, though they do practically no work at all. They have to pretend to be Bolshevik, but in reality they are not in sympathy with them at all."

3. *Shops in Moscow.*—No shops are open at all except the Soviet shops. The Bolsheviks close down certain shops, take down the signs, and remove all the material without paying for it. They then put up signs of their own announcing the sale of clothing, which they sell at twice the price which was charged at the shop from which they took the stuff. No new stuff is now being made at all. What is now being sold is entirely old stock.

[*From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostock February 8, 1917.*]

" Following from consul at Ekaterinburg, 6th February:—

" From examination of several labourer and peasant witnesses I have evidence to the effect that very smallest percentage of this district were pro-Bolshevik, majority of labourers sympathizing with summoning of Constituent Assembly. Witnesses further stated that Bolshevik leaders did not represent Russian working classes, most of them being Jews.

As a result of refusal of 4,000 labourers near Ekaterinburg to support local Bolsheviks many were arrested and twelve were suffocated alive in slag gas-pit, their mutilated bodies being buried afterwards, and ninety peasants taken out of Ekaterinburg prison where they had been thrown because they objected to Bolsheviks requisitioning their cattle, etc., were brutally murdered."

[*From Sir H. Rumbold to Earl Curzon, dated Berne, February 5, 1919.*]

"I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter addressed to Madame X....., a Polish lady, from Cracow, to a compatriot at Paris.

Madame X.....'s letter gives a certain amount of apparently first-hand information relative to conditions in the Ukraine, where, according to the writer, the Poles have frequently been the victims of appalling outrages."

Following is a translation of the letter from Madame X.....

"I often wonder if you and our fellow-countrymen in Switzerland know anything about the events which are occurring in the unfortunate parts of our country from which we were forced to flee. I imagine very little is known, and yet these regions, although far from the centre, are nevertheless in Europe, and are still inhabited by civilized people, who are at present in the most terrible state. Their property is confiscated and pillaged, their lives are often in danger, and they cannot even flee, as their retreat is cut off.

From October, 1917, to February, 1918, bands of soldiers and armed peasants pillaged and laid waste the whole of Russia and the Ukraine; all household property without exception—farms, gentlemen's places and buildings of every description—were burnt or pulled down, forests cut down, without anyone in authority putting an end to this craze for destruction, this is the way the Russian and Ukrainian peasants entered into possession of the lands granted them freely by the Bolshevik Government and the Ukrainian Government. It is needless to add that nothing escaped being pillaged, not even churches and graves being spared. The unfortunate landed proprietors as well as the farmers, farm labourers, and workmen in factories took refuge in the towns in an attempt to save what they could of their belongings. There pillaging still continued, on the plea of carrying out a search. The arrival of the Austro-German armies in February, 1918, put an end to this craze for robbery and rapine.

Owners regained possession of their property, of the ruins of their houses and farms and what remained of their forests. There was even mention of a commission which would make a valuation of losses, suffered and make those responsible pay for them. However, in the winter of 1918 the Austro-German armies retreated, and a band of bravoes resumed the reins of Government in the Ukraine, and the land became again the prey of peasants' committees, who cannot pillage anything, as the country is laid waste and covered with ruins.

What is happening now is of quite a different nature, and is manifestly anti-Polish. Last year it was landed proprietors that were attacked, now they want to destroy everything Polish regardless of class distinctions.

As I am far away and have little news, my information is certainly somewhat meagre, and yet the events that I am going to relate to you are true.

In the Proskorow district the peasants burnt M. Stanislas Skibiewski alive after torturing him for two days. Two brothers Kostkiewicz, as well as Mme. Malinowska, were murdered by peasants. Mme. Marie Mankowska and her son have been imprisoned for several weeks, and nobody knows what will

happen to them. All the prisons are crammed with Poles who are undergoing the most terrible treatment. Jerome Sobanski and his son are among the prisoners.

Fourteen members of Michel Sobanski's Government were frightfully tortured before being killed, and the same fate has befallen the members of Bialo Cerkiew's Government. At Brycow seven members of the Grocholscy Government were mutilated before being murdered. In Berdiozew district Malaszewski, manager of a factory, and Wroczynski, sub-manager, were murdered. In Volhynia the two brothers Plater of Dambrovica were burnt alive. At Kamieneo, Alexandre Sadowski has been in prison for a long time, and great anxiety is felt for his life. At Czere Paszynce the gamekeeper was killed after being frightfully tortured. Catholic priests are exposed to every indignity, and their lives are always in danger. At Bazalia during Mass seventy people were arrested in church. In the towns Polish and Russian landowners are arrested and imprisoned. The peasants in the country come to find them, and the prisoners are handed over to them with permission to do what they like with them. It is only by means of very heavy ransoms that they manage occasionally to save their lives.

With regard to your own property, the house and the farmhouses were still standing last November. Malejowce is destroyed, and the forests are in a terrible state. At Strychowce nothing is left standing; our properties are completely laid waste.

Petlura's band has seized the banks as well as the sugar factories, and it is impossible to draw any money or shares belonging to companies without first obtaining the signature of the peasants' committee.

It is also said that half the money in the banks belonging to private accounts has been confiscated. At any rate, it is quite certain that part of the capital belonging to private individuals has been seized at the Union Bank at Kamisnec.

If public opinion, as voiced by the European press, has denounced and condemned the excesses and crimes committed in Belgium, Serbia, and the Duchy of Posen, why should the crimes committed by the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainians remain unknown? It is the wish of the unfortunate people who ask for the assistance and implore the protection of the Allied armies, that France, England, and America should be informed of what is going on.

As Warsaw turns a deaf ear, being too much taken up with its political questions, and the Polish armies have enough to do with the Ruthenians in Galicia, and cannot give any help to people further away, we should like our committees in Switzerland to be kept fully informed, and to be able to represent to the French and English press how matters stand. It is with this object in view that I write to you and place myself at your disposal if more information can be sent which could be published in the press.

From Lord Kilmarnock to Earl Curzon, dated Copenhagen, February 6, 1919.

I have the honour to forward herewith a translation of the first official report on the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks in Wesenberg and Dorpat, which has been furnished me by the Esthonian representative here."

[ENCLOSURE IN LORD KILMARNOCKS LETTER—BOLSHEVISK ATROCITIES IN WESENBERG, ESTHONIA.]

After the Esthonian troops had reconquered the town of Wesenberg from the Bolsheviks, the graves of those murdered by the latter during their short period of "terrorism" were opened on the 17th January, 1919. The following officials were present: Town Governor, Aren; President of the District, Administration, Hr. Juhkam; Deputy Mayor, Jakobson; Militia Commandant, Kutt; Assistant Militia Commandant, Tenneberg; Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Wiren; and the previous Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Utt.

The vicinity of the graves of the victims to the Red Terror showed with what brutal roughness the Bolshekivs had executed their victims. Everywhere was to be seen congealed blood amongst which tattered pieces of cap, bits of clothing, brains, and fragments of skull with hair could be distinguished. In the first grave sixteen bodies were found, which were later photographed. Among these the following were identified: Army doctor, Dr. Reinik; the Greek Catholic priest, Sergei Filorenski; ambulance soldier, Ellenberg, of Reval; the local merchant, Gustav Bock; Tonis Podra, of Gut Uhtna; a railway official, Tonu Poiklik, of Wesenberg; Ferdinand Tops, from the parish of Undle; Rudolf Rost; ambulance soldier, of Tudulinne; Edouard Sepp, of the Estate Welsi; and the shoemaker Kolk, of Wesenberg. Sixteen victims were also in the other grave. The following were recognised: Heinrich Mikker, of Kunda; Joh. Ed. Jarw, of Gem Kuti; Juri Juhkam, of the parish of Roela; Hugo Lang, of the parish of Küti; Josep Koovits, of Kunda; Harriette von Mühlen, of the Tudu Estate; Walter Pauker, the clergyman of Wesenberg; Gustav Sone, from the parish of Kuti; von Hesse, an official of Wesenberg; Peter Sakkar, from Kunda; Arthur Sulto, from Kunda; Jakob Raja forester from the Estate of Lobu; Hugo Rannaberg, from the parish of Kuti.

The third and largest of the graves was opened on the 18th January. It was 4 metres long and 2 metres deep, and filled to the top with corpses. Fifty bodies were found here, among whom the following were recognised: Rudolf Peets, of Laekwere; Carl Erde, of Haljala; Daniel Sellow, a merchant of Laekwere; Jean Rebane, from the village of Assanalls; Johannes Lomberg, of Ambla; Hindrick Roosilill from the Tape Estate; Edouard Walow, of Wesenberg; Gustav Koolmann, of Walnupea; Mihkel Klein, from the parish of Kuti; August Marton, from Malla; Dr. Morits Ling, from Kunda; Siim Magi, of Malla; Jüri Kuller, from the Inju Estate; Johannes Marton, from Malla; Konrad Preisberg, of Ambla; Ernst Klein, from the parish of Küti; Karl Paas, of Kuline; Arthur Wään, soldier of the Militia, from the parish of Wihula; Jüri Lemming, of Ambla; Willen Pudermann, of Rahkla; Karl Knauf, proprietor of Nomkula; Karl Pudel, from Rahkla; Johannes Schmitnar, tenant of the Tapa Estate; Frau van Rehekampf, of Wesenberg; August Paas, of Kulina; Lüna Lümann, of the parish of Aaspere; Jeannette, Baroness Wrangel, of Wesenberg; Frau von Samson, of Wesenberg; Leopold Aron, head of the Post Stage of Wesenberg; Jaan Paas, of Kulina; railway official Older, of St. Püssi; Mihkel Marton, of Malla; Jüri Magi, of Inju; Feodor Numm, of Osel; Bernh. Wold Lessel, of Wesenberg; Masik, soldier of the people's army from

the Government of Twer; J. Heinrich Grauberg, of Rahkla; Prüdik Wilder, of Lakwere; Julius Kütsel, of Laekwere; Marta Afanasjewa, Sister of Mercy, of Kunda; Marie Kirsch, of Wesenberg.

All the bodies showed signs of the rage and revenge of the Bolsheviks. The victims were all robbed of everything except their linen, their boots also having been taken. The Bolsheviks had shattered the skulls of thirty-three of the bodies, so that the heads hung like bits of wood on the trunks. As well as being shot, most of the murdered had been pierced with bayonets, the entrails torn out, and the bones of the arm and leg broken.

How the victims were executed by the Bolsheviks is described by one of these unfortunates, Proprietor A. Munstrum, who managed to save himself by a miracle:—

" On the afternoon of the 11th January, fifty-six of us were led to the place of execution, where the grave was already made. Half of us, including six women, were placed at the edge of the grave. The women were to be killed first, as their cries were so heartrending the murderers could not listen to them any longer. One woman tried to escape, but did not get far. They fired a volley, and she sank to the ground wounded. Then the Bolsheviks dragged here by the feet into the grave. Five of the murderers sprang after her, shot at her, and stamped on her body with their feet till she was silent. Then a further volley was fired at the other victims. In the same way they were thrown into the graves and done to death with butt-ends and bayonets. After which the murderers once more stamped on the bodies."

[BOLSHEVIST ATROCITIES IN DORPAT].

Also in Dorpat the Bolsheviks committed the same kind of atrocities as in Wesenberg. On Christmas evening the well known Director of Fisheries, Zoological Student Max von zur Muhlen, was murdered.

On the 26th December the following persons were shot: Mihkel Kus, Alex Lepp, Alexander Aland, and Kzarl Soo.

On the 9th of January the Bolsheviks murdered the following persons: August Meos, Abram Schrieber, Woldemar Rasta, butcher Beer Stark, Baron Paul von Tiesenhausen, Woldemar and Johann Ottas, Mikhel Kure, Friedrich Pass, Bruno von Samson-Himmelstjerna, Harald von Samson-Himmelstjerna, Gustav von Samson-Himmelstjerna, goldsmith Rudolf Kipasto.

All these persons were dragged to the Embach River and shot down. The dead bodies were put into the river through ice-holes. Later, when the Esthonian troops had reconquered Dorpat, sixteen of these victims of the Red Terror were found in the Embach. As could be ascertained from the bodies, these victims had been tortured in the most dreadful manner. Many had arms and legs broken, the skull knocked in, etc. It was evident that Karl Soo, who was shot on the 26th December, had suffered most of all. The Bolsheviks had put out his eyes. On the 14th January shortly before they were driven out by the Esthonian troops, the Bolsheviks killed twenty of their prisoners. After an official inquiry it was ascertained that this bloody deed took place

in the following manner: The poor unfortunates, over 200 in number, who were kept in the Credit-System Bank and the police station, had to stand in a row. The names of the victims were then called out. They were robbed of their clothes, boots, and valuables, and led to the cellar of the Credit-system Bank, where the Bolsheviks, with hatchet blows, shattered their skulls. In this manner the above-mentioned, approximately twenty persons, were murdered, and only the hasty flight of the Red Guard from the Esthonian troops saved the remaining prisoners, among whom were from sixty to eighty women. Otherwise they would have been done to death in the same way. Among the bodies of the murdered the following were recognized: Archbishop Platon, Recording Clerk Michael Bleiwe, of the Unspenski Church; the grey-headed clergyman Dr. Traugott Hahn, Hermann von Samson-Himmelstjerna, of Kawershof; Heinrich von Krasse, owner of Rewold; Banker Arnold von Tidebohl, Herbert von Schrenk, Baron Konstant von Knorring, Pastor Wilhelm Schwartz, Councillor Gustav Tensmann, Councillor Gustav Seeland, Merchant Surman Kaplan, Master Potter Ado Luik, Merchant Harry Vogel, Merchant Massal, and co-worker of "Postimees", Karner.

Dr. Wolfgang, of Reyher, shortly after the murders—the bodies were still warm—examined the above-mentioned cellar of the Credit-system Bank, and reports the following with regard to the appearance of the room where this foul deed took place: The floor of the whole room was covered with bodies, piled one upon the other in most unnatural positions, which could only be attributable to a violent death. In the middle the bodies were in three layers wearing only underclothing. Nearly all had shots in the head, which had been received recently, because in a few cases the skull had been totally shattered, and in one case the skull hung by a thread. Some bodies showed signs of several shots. All was thick with blood, also on the bed and on the walls congealed masses of blood and pieces of skull were to be seen. I counted twenty-three bodies, but it was easy to make a mistake, as it was difficult to recognize individual bodies in the heap. Not a bit of the floor was clear, so that I had to trample over bodies to reach others. The search for a sign of life was in vain.

After a later examination of the bodies, it was found that Bishop Platon had a bullet in the brain over the right eye, and death had been instantaneous. The left side of Priest Bleiw's face had been shattered from the blow of an axe. The Bolshevik executioner's axe had hit Priest Bjeschanitzki in the middle of his face. From these blows the faces of both priests were so mutilated as to be almost beyond recognition. Both the arms and the head of Vicar Schwartz were hacked off. The Bolsheviks had nailed an officer's shoulder straps firmly to his shoulders. All the bodies and the cellar where they lay have been photographed.

[*From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, February, 11, 1919*].

I have received the following statement from a British consular official, who was at Ekaterinburg in September, 1918, regarding the situation in that town during Bolskevik régime, from 1917 until the end of 1918, when town was relieved by Czechs:—

Bolsheviks ruthlessly "nationalized" all property during first four or five months, including British firms, like Contutshtim, Syssert, etc., and they made constant demands on all moneyed merchant classes for huge contributions, with penalty of arrest and confiscation of all belongings unless paid promptly. Businesses of all kinds, banks, and houses were either placed under control of labour elements or nationalized, and to such low lever were industry and manufacture reduced that they practically came to a standstill. Systematic searches of houses and private individuals took place daily, and gold and silver ornaments, and even spare clothes, were taken without compensation, and merchants who attempted to resist or evade constant decrees from local Soviet were immediately arrested. Robberies and murders were frequent, law and order were at very low ebb, and almost complete anarchy reigned. A local consular corps was formed in March, 1918, consisting of consuls and representatives of some dozen different nationalities to act as an intermediary between Bolshevik Soviet and subjects of foreign Powers, owing to the molestation of foreign subjects.

All public meetings were suppressed, and, with the exception of the daily official organ of the Bolsheviks, no papers or printed matter could be published.

Czech movements on Omsk began towards the end of May. We were in a state of siege from the end of May to the 25th July, when Bolsheviks finally evacuated the town and Czechs marched in. Bolshevik terrorism succeeded Bolshevik despotism. Having publicly announced their intention of making "red terror" as dreadful as possible, they arrested hundreds of private citizens as hostages for the sole reason that they belonged to so-called *bourgeoisie* and "Intelligentsia." Hotels and private residents were requisitioned to accommodate these hostages, as prisons were full of them; under armed bands of Red Guards scores were taken to the front to do work for "Proletariat Army," and dig trenches. Without semblance of a trial, many of them were shot during June and July. A placard on the walls of one of the gates which was reprinted in Bolshevik paper the following day, was the first intimation we had of this. This proclamation gave names of nineteen citizen hostages who had been shot, amongst whom were the members of a well-known engineering firm, Mr. Fadyef, and the manager of Syssert Company (an English undertaking), Mr. Makronosoef. The rest were mostly peaceful hard-working merchants and mostly well-known persons. Eight more were shot a few days later, amongst them being the son of a wealthy flour-miller, Mr. Markarow. Number of bodies, amounting, I believe, to sixty or more, were discovered after Czechs took the town. Subsequently it was discovered that they were shot in the most cruel manner, just like animals in woods, and some of them were undoubtedly left to die on the ground, as no pains were taken to discover whether their wounds were mortal or not. It was alleged by Bolsheviks that to prevent any counter-revolutionary movement in the town it was necessary to terrorize population in this manner. Consular corps were informed roughly that Bolsheviks would allow no interference, when they protested against these wholesale assassinations. Although they vigorously denied it, Bolsheviks began to evacuate Ekaterinburg about the middle of July. One of their leaders publicly stated that if they were obliged to leave the town they would massacre a thousand citizens.

Three days before they finally left Ekaterinburg, Bolsheviks announced at a public meeting on 25th December, that they had recently shot the Emperor. Their system of espionage was very perfect, and during whole of their regime nobody dared to utter a word that might be construed into anti-Bolshevism, as they were liable to be immediately arrested and shot.

In addition to the above-mentioned horrors we were always anticipating an outbreak of typhus, cholera or other epidemic, as everything was in a state of unutterable filth, no attempts being made to clean buildings, offices, streets, railway stations or trains.

Everybody appeared dejected and depressed, and decent and cleanly dressed people were seldom seen in the streets.

Bolshevik evacuation was most thoroughly carried out, and it is estimated that they took with then over 4,000,000,000 roubles worth of platinum, gold, stores and money. There is no doubt that there would have been a great many more murders if they had not been so busily engaged in this plunder, but owing to rapid advance of Czechs, they were forced to hasten their departure.

There will be wholesale massacres of moneyed and merchant classes if Bolsheviks succeed in retaking Ekaterinburg.

[*Notes on interviews with Mr. C. and Mr. D., February 13, 1919.*]

Mr. C. and Mr. D. were interviewed this morning in the Foreign office. They both left Petrograd on the 17th January. Mr. C. was manager of a big firm in Petrograd, and was in prison three and a half months.

In the cities the cry of the Bolsheviks has been "the proletariat against the bourgeoisie", though as most of the big capitalists got away, it has really been the oppression of the de-bourgeoisie and the intelligent workmen by the dregs of the population.

1. *The villages.*—In the villages poverty committees, composed of peasants without land and of hooligans returned from the towns, have been set against the peasant proprietor. Local government has been handed over to these poverty committees, and they take from the peasant proprietor his produce, implements, and live-stock, retaining what they need themselves and forwarding the remainder to the towns. The peasant will not give grain to the Bolsheviks because he hates them, and hopes by this means to destroy them eventually. He is armed and united. It is for this reason that armed requisitioning companies are sent out everywhere from Petrograd and Moscow to help the poverty committees to take the grain from the peasant, and every day all over Russia such fights for grain are fought to a finish till either the peasants or the requisitioning party are wiped out. During my stay in prison I met and talked to dozens of peasant proprietors arrested on the charge of counter-revolution. In my escape across the frontier I slept in two peasants' cabins, and although they were living under the worst conditions, so poor that fourteen people lived and slept in a cabin a few yards square, they cursed the Bolsheviks with tears in their eyes. One of the latest decress only allows a peasant to have one cow and one horse for every five members of his family. The peasant proprietors, who probably will one day be the strongest party in the future Russia, are anti-Bolshevik to a man.

2. *Red Army.*—No more satisfied are the soldiers. In fact the only troops the Bolsheviks can trust are the Lettish, Chinese, and a few battalions of sailors. They give them 250 roubles a month, all found, together with presents of gold watches and chains requisitioned from the bourgeoisie. Newly conscripted troops are not given rifles in Petrograd, except a few in each regiment for the purposes of instruction. They are only handed out to them at the front. For any military offence there is only one punishment—death. Executions are done mostly by Chinese. If a regiment retreats against orders machine guns are turned on them, and if the commissar of the regiment cannot thus hold his men he is shot. All the soldiers I spoke to, even those acting as our guards at the prison, cursed their fate at being compelled to serve, the only alternative being death from hunger or execution as deserters. Nearly all openly expressed the hope that the British would soon come and put an end to it all.

3. *Workmen.*—The position of the workmen is no better. At first the eight-hour day with high minimum wages greatly pleased them, but as time went on they found that owing to increased cost of living, they were little, if any, better off. Their wages were increased, but a vicious circle was soon set up on which their wage increases were utterly unable to keep up with the high cost of living. Reduction of output further increased the cost. At the Petrograd wagon works the pre-Bolshevik cost of passenger cars was 16,000 to 17,000 roubles; it is now 100,000 to 120,000. At Government works, where the Bolsheviks would most likely expect support, intense dissatisfaction exists. An official warning was issued to the workmen of the Putiloff works through the official newspaper, stating that during a period of several weeks fires, explosions, and break-downs had regularly occurred, which could only be put down to traitors to the cause, who, when caught, would be shot.

4. *Bourgeoisie.*—The position of the bourgeoisie defies all description. All who employ labour down to a servant girl, or an errand boy, or anyone whose wants are provided for ahead, that is, all who do not live from hand to mouth, are considered under Bolshevism as bourgeoisie. All newspapers except the Bolshevik ones have been closed, and their plant and property confiscated. New decrees by the dozen are printed daily in the press, no other notification being given. Non-observance of any decree means confiscation of all property. All Government securities have been annulled and all others confiscated. Safe deposits have been opened, and all gold and silver articles confiscated. All plants and factories have been nationalised, as also the cinemas and theaters. This nationalisation of municipalisation means to the unhappy owner confiscation, since no payment is ever made. Payments by the Banks from current or deposit accounts have been stopped. It is forbidden to sell furniture or to move it from one house to another without permission. Persons living in houses containing more rooms than they have numbers of their families have poor families billeted in the other rooms, the furniture in these rooms remaining for the use of the families billeted there. Hundreds of houses have been requisitioned for official or semi-official use, and thousands of unhappy residents have been turned out on the streets at an hour's notice with permission to take with them only the clothes they stood in, together with one change of linen. Houses are controlled by a poverty committee, composed of the

poorest residents of the house. These committees have the right to take and distribute anongst themselves from the occupiers of the flats all furniture they consider in excess. They also act as Bolshevik agents, giving information as to movements. A special tax was levied on all house property amounting practically to the full value of the same. Failure to pay in fourteen days resulted in municipalisation of property. All owners and managers of works, offices, and shops, as well as members of the leisured classes, have been called up for compulsory labour, first for the burial of cholera and typhus victims, and later for cleaning the streets, etc. All goods lying at the custom house warehouses have been seized and first mortgaged to the Government Bank for 100,000,000 roubles. Any fortunate owner of these goods, which were not finally confiscated, had the possibility of obtaining them on payment of the mortgage. All furniture and furs stored away have been confiscated. All hotels, restaurants, provision shops, and most other shops, are now closed after having had their stocks and inventories confiscated. Just before we left a new tax was brought out, the extraordinary Revolutionary Tax. In the Government newspapers there were printed daily lists of people, street by street, district by district, with the amount they must pay into the Government bank within fourteen days on pain of confiscation of all property. The amounts, I noticed, ranged from 2,000 roubles to 15,000,000. It is impossible to imagine how these sums can be paid.

5. *Food Question.*—The food question in Petrograd has gone from bad to worse. Elaborate food cards are given out each month covering all kinds of products, but for months past nothing has been given out on them except bread, which has for the last few weeks consisted of unmilled oats. There are now only three categories of food cards, the first being for heavy workers, the second for workers, and the third for non-workers. The last time bread was given out the daily allowance on card one was half-a-pound, on card two quarter-pound, and on card three one-eight pound. Hundreds of people are dying weekly from hunger, which first causes acute swelling of the features. Many have managed to get away, so that the present population is probably not more than 600,000. Wholesale starvation had only been prevented by the large, illicit trade done in provisions by what are known as sack-men, who travel by rail or road from the village with food in sacks. Butter is now 80 roubles a pound; beef 25 roubles; pork 50 roubles; black bread 25 roubles; and eggs 5 roubles each. Dogmeat costs 5 roubles a pound, a horse-meat 18 roubles. Houses with central heating are no longer heated owing to lack of coal. The amount of wood that formerly cost 7 roubles, now costs 450, and only enough can be obtained for one room. Restaurants have all been confiscated and turned into communal kitchens, where the sole menu lately has been soup consisting of water with a few potatoes in it, and a herring.

Oppression of Socialist Parties.

The political parties which have been most oppressed by the Bolsheviks are the Socialists, Social Democrats, and Social Revolutionaries. Owing to bribery and corruption—those notorious evils of the old regime which are now multiplied

under Bolshevism—capitalists were able to get their money from the banks and their securities from safe deposits, and managed to get away. On the other hand, many members of Liberal and Socialist parties who have worked all their time for the revolution, have been arrested or shot by the Bolsheviks. In prison I met a Social Democart who nad been imprisoned for eleven years in Schlusselberg Fortress as a political offender. Released at the beginning of the Revolution he was within eighteen months imprisoned by the Bolsheviks as a counter-revolutionary.

How do the Bolsheviks Continue to hold Power?

They continue to hold power by a system of terrorism and tyranny that has never before been heard of. This is centred at Gorokovaya 2, under the title of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage. Originally under the direction of Yourelski, it confined its operations to dealing with offences under these headings, but after his death it came out frankly as an instrument of the Red Terror, and since then its operations make the history of the French Reign of Terror, or the Spanish Inquisition, appear mild by comparison. People were arrested wholesale, not merely on individual orders on information received from spies, but literally wholesale—people arrested in the streets, theatres, cafes, every day in hundreds, and conveyed to Gorokovaya 2. There their names and other details were entered up, and next day in parties of a hundred or so marched to one or another of the prisons, whilst their unhappy relations stood for hours and days in queues endeavouring to learn what had become of them. They were kept in prison two, three, or four months without any examination or accusation being made. Then some were accused and shot, fined, or all property confiscated. Others were allowed to be ransomed by their friends, and others released without any explanation. No trial was given. The accusation and examination were made together, and the examiner was generally an ex-workman, or even criminal. Examination was made in private. Sentence was confirmed by a member of the Commission, and that is the only trial anyone ever received at Gorokovaya 2. The climax was reached after the murder of Uritsky—attack on the British Embassy, and the Lockhart affair, where hundreds of people were arrested in various parts of the town, mostly officers, who were shot and thrown into the river, bound and thrown into the river, or bound, put into barges, and the barges sunk, all without even the formality being taken to Gorokovaya 2. I was in prison from the 19th September to the 25th December, and I could pretty well fill a book with my experiences, but I will merely give a translation of an article printed in a Bolshevik paper, the "Northern Commune," No. 170, dated the 4th December, 1918:—

"It is imposssible to continue silent. It has constantly been brought to the knowledge of the Viborg Soviet (Petrograd) of the terrible state of affairs existing in the city prisons. That people all the time are dying there of hunger; that people are detained six and eight months without examination, and that in many cases it is impossible to learn why they have been arrested, owing to officials being changed, departments closed, and documents lost. In order to confirm,

or otherwise, these rumours, the Soviet decided to send on the 3rd November a commission consisting of the President of the Soviet, the district medical officer, and district military commissar, to visit and report on the 'Crest' prison. Comrades! What, they saw and what they heard from the imprisoned is impossible to describe. Not only were all rumours confirmed, but conditions were actually found much worse than had been stated. I was pained and ashamed. I myself was imprisoned under Tsardom in that same prison. Then all was clean, and prisoners had clean linen twice a month. Now, not only are prisoners left without clean linen, but many are even without blankets, and, as in the past, for a trifling offence they are placed in solitary confinement in cold, dark cells. But the most terrible sights we saw were in the sick bays. Comrades, there we saw living dead who hardly had strength enough to whisper their complaints that they were dying of hunger. In one word, amongst the sick a corpse had lain for several hours, whose neighbour managed to murmur, 'of hunger he died, and soon of hunger we shall all die.' Comrades, amongst them are many who are quite young, who wish to live and see the sunshine. If we really possess a workmen's government such things should not be."

Bolshevist Plans for World Revolution.

Bolshevism in Russia offers to our civilization no less a menace than did Prussianism, and until it is as ruthlessly destroyed we may expect trouble, strikes, revolutions everywhere. The German military party are undoubtedly working hand in hand with Russian Bolsheviks with the idea of spreading Bolshevism ultimately to England, by which time they hope to have got over it themselves, and to be in a position to take advantage of our troubles. For Bolshevik propaganda unlimited funds are available. No other country can give their secret service such a free hand, and the result is that their agents are to be found where least expected.

From General Knox to the War Office, dated Omsk, February 5, 1919.

With regard to the murder of Imperial family at Ekaterinburg, there is further evidence to show that there were two parties in the local Soviet, one which was anxious to save Imperial family, and the latter, headed by five Jews, two of whom were determined to have them murdered. These two Jews, by name Vainen and Safarof, went with Lenin when he made a journey across Germany. On pretext that Russian guard had stolen 70,000 roubles, they were removed from the house between the 8th and 12th. The guard were replaced by a house guard of thirteen, consisting of ten Letts and three Jews, two of whom were called Laipont and Yurowski, and one whose name is not known. The guard was commanded outside the house by a criminal called Medoyedof who had been convicted of murder and arson in 1906, and of outraging a girl of five in 1911. The prisoners were awakened at 2 a. m., and were told they must prepare for a journey. They were called down to the lower room an hour later, and Yurowski read out the sentence of the Soviet. When he had finished reading, he said, "and so your life has come to an end". The Emperor then

said, "I am ready." An eye-witness, who has since died, said the Empress and the two eldest daughters made the sign of the cross. The massacre was carried out with revolvers. The doctor, Botkine, the maid, the valet, and the cook were murdered in this room as well as the seven members of the Imperial family. They only spared the life of the cook's nephew, a boy of fourteen. The murderers threw the bodies down the shaft of a coal mine, and the same morning orders were sent to murder the party at Alapaevsk, which was done.

From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, February 10, 1919.

Following from consular officer at Ekaterinburg, 8th February:

"From examination of witnesses of various classes of population following evidence obtained:—

"Bolsheviks persecuted all classes of population not supporting or recognising their Government. House searches, requisitions, and arrests were made at all times of day and night, on grounds of political necessity, resulting in wholesale pillage. Anybody possessing more than 10,000 roubles was forced to dig trenches at front for Red Army, where they are under continual menace of death for slightest offence, and at mercy of Red Guard, very often consisting of foreigners; many of these persons were murdered. Eighteen peaceful citizens, including priests, doctors, lawyers, merchants, and labourers were arrested at Ekaterinburg as hostages, and shot without any accusations being made against them. Sixty-five citizens from Kamishlof suffered same fate. The widows of these people who claimed their husbands' bodies were treated with outrageous insult and derision by Bolsheviks. Peasants in Bolshevik district who protested against requisition of their cattle and property were thrown into prison, and ninety murdered. Peasants also had their homes burnt, as many as one hundred being destroyed in one village. Bolshevik leaders in Ekaterinburg led a life of luxury entirely in opposition to doctrine they advocated, frequently appropriating large sums of money and indulging in drunken orgies. Bribery, corruption, and extortion were rife amongst both Bolshevik officials and Red Guard men. Bolsheviks particularly oppressed Orthodox clergy and religion. Czech soldiers witnesses give evidence that near Khan Bolsheviks crucified father and sisters of a man who served in the national army; whole families of others in national army were shot. There is sufficient information to hand to be able to state that Bolsheviks' crimes in Ekaterinburg district are nothing in comparison with number and character of atrocities committed in Permand district."

From Mr. Alston to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, February, 13, 1919.

Mr. T..... had just arrived here from Ekaterinburg. When at Perm he says he lived in same hotel with Grand Duke Michael and Mr. Johnston, his secretary, who was a Russian. At 2 a. m. on or about the 16th June he saw four of Perm "militia" or police take them off, and he is convinced that they were killed.

Previous reports of Bolshevik excesses at Perm are confirmed by Mr. T. ..... who says that usual method employed by them in the case of merch-

ants was to arrest them, release them, re-arrest them, bail them again—amount of bail to be paid increasing each time—and to shoot them in the end.

From Consul General Bagge to Earl Curzon, dated Odessa, February 13, 1919.

Widespread pillage by bands, murder of landowners, even of peasants with few acres, has created very grave situation. Seed-grain is largely lacking in consequence for spring sowing in Ukraine. As these normally cover 70 per cent of whole area, if measures are not taken at once to replace supply from Kunab and elsewhere, there will be no crop and consequently terrible famine. This state of things applies to peasants as well as large landowners, the majority of whom have had to flee to the coast towns.

The cardinal conditions for saving Russia from famine is maintenance of order in occupied territory or South Russia. Thousands of peasant landowners, when they have moral and some physical support, will be able to cope with bands of robbers under whatever names they may act. These peasants further beg that property now existing in land declared inviolable until whole question shall be settled; without this assurance they do not care to risk expense of sowing for, perhaps, another to reap.

The question is very urgent, for work on land in the south begins in three or four weeks.

[*From Sir C. Eliot to Earl Curzon, dated Vladivostok, February 22, 1919.*]

Following telegraphic report of 71 Bolshevik victims received from consular officer at Ekaterinburg, dated 19th February:

"Nos. 1 to 18 Ekaterinburg citizens (first three personally known to me) were imprisoned without any accusation being made against them, and at four in the morning of 29th June were taken (with another, making 19 altogether) to Ekaterinburg sewage dump, half mile from Ekaterinburg, and ordered to stand in line alongside of newly-dug ditch. Forty armed men in civil clothes, believed to be Cummmunist militia, and giving impression of semi-intelligent people, opened fire, killing 18. The 19th, Mr. Chistoserdow, miraculously escaped in general confusion. I, together with other consuls at Ekaterinburg, protested to Bolsheviks against brutality, to which Bolsheviks replied, advising us to mind our own business, stating that they had shot these people to avenge death of their comrade, Malishef, killed at front, against Czechs."

"Nos. 19 and 20 are 2 of 12 labourers arrested for refusing to support Bolshevik Government, and on 12th July thrown alive into hole which hot slag deposits from works at Verhisetski near Ekaterinburg. Bodies were identified by fellow labourers.

"Nos. 21 to 26 were taken as hostages and shot at Kamishlof on 20th July.

" Nos. 27 to 33, accused of plotting against Bolshevik Government arrested 16th December at village of Troitsk, Perm Government. Taken 17th December at station Silva, Perm railway, and all decapitated by sword. Evidence shows that victims had their necks half cut through from behind, head of No. 29 only hanging on small piece of skin.

" Nos. 34 to 36, taken with 8 others beginning of July from camp, where they were undergoing trench-digging service for Bolsheviks to spot near Oufalay, about 80 versts from Ekaterinburg, and murdered by Red Guards with guns and bayonets.

" Nos. 37 to 58, held in prison at Irbit as hostages, and 26th July murdered by gun-shot, those not killed outright being finished by bayonet. These people were shot in small groups, and murder was conducted by sailors and carried out by Letts, all of whom were drunk. After murder, Bolsheviks continued to take ransom money from relatives of victims, from whom they concealed crime.

" No. 59 was shot at village Klevenkinski, Verhotury district, 6th August, being accused of agitation against Bolsheviks.

" No. 60, after being forced to dig his own grave, was shot by Bolsheviks at Village Mercoushinski, Verhotury district, 13th July.

" No. 61 murdered middle of July at Kamenski works for allowing church bells to be sounded contrary to Bolshevik orders, body afterwards found with others in hole with head half cut off.

" No. 62 arrested without accusation, 8th July, at village Ooetski, Kamishlov district. Body afterwards found covered with straw and dung, beard torn from face with flesh, palms af hands cut out, and skin incised on forehead.

" No. 63 was killed after much torture (details not given), 27th July, at station Anthracite.

" No. 67 murdered, 13th August, near village of Mironoffski.

" No. 68 shot by Bolsheviks before his church at village of Korouffski, Kamislov district, before eyes of villagers, his daughters and son, date not stated.

" Nos. 69 to 71, killed at Kaslingski works near Kishtim, 4th June, together with 27 other civilians. No. 70 had head smashed in, exposing brains. No. 71 had head smashed in, arms and legs broken, and two bayonet wounds.

" Dates in this telegram are 1918."

From Sir C. Eliot to Earl Curzon.

Dated Vladivostok, Feb. 24, 1919.

My telegram of 22nd February.*

Following from consul at Ekaterinburg:—

" Nos. 72 to 103 examined, 32 civilians incarcerated as hostages and taken away by Bolsheviks with 19 others at various dates between 9th July, 7th

August, 27th July, all 51 having been declared outlaws. Official medical examination of 52 bodies (of which 32 examined, Nos. 72 to 103 and 20 not identified), found in several holes; 3 from Kamishlof revealed that all had been killed by bayonet, sword, and bullet wounds. Following cases being typical: No. 76 had 20 light bayonet wounds in back; No. 78 had 15 bayonet wounds in back, 3 in chest; No. 80, bayonet wounds in back, broken jaw and skull; No. 84, face smashed and wrist hacked; No. 89 had 2 fingers cut off and bayonet wounds; No. 90, both hands cut off at wrist, upper jaw hacked, mouth slit both sides, bayonet wound shoulder; No. 98, little finger off left hand and 4 fingers off right hand, head smashed; No. 99 had 12 bayonet wounds; No. 101 had 4 sword and 6 bayonet wounds.

"These victims are distinct from 66 Kamishlof hostage children shot by machine guns near Ekaterinburg beginning of July, names not obtainable."

[*From Sir C. Eliot to Mr. Balfour.*

dated Vladivostok, Feb. 24, 1919.]

An Appeal to all democratic parties to unite against Bolsheviks has been published by the Omsk Government. Reasons given are as follow:—

1. Dictatorship of one class was claimed by Bolsheviks, and people of other classes were placed outside the law and starved.

2. Bolsheviks have deprived educated classes of their votes, as they do not admit universal suffrage.

3. Bureaucracy has been set up in place of municipal and village government, which has been abolished.

4. Political organizations have replaced Law Courts.

[*From General Knox to the War Office.*

Dated Vladivostok, March 2, 1919.]

Following received from Omsk, 26th February:—

"Positions of railway transport critical. Owing to absence of metals, coal, and spare parts, workshops on railways have ceased work. Passenger traffic continues only on Nikolaevski Railway, only military and food trains running on other railways.

"Money being printed on colossal scale, 14,000 workmen employed in Petrograd and Pensa day and night. 300 million notes of different valuations are said to be daily turned out. Peasants very hostile to Soviet's action, and riots resulted in many quarters.

" Discipline growing stricter in army. Return of shoulder straps and saluting being considered.

" In near future the Bolsheviks intend closing all churches. Three priests were recently drowned by Reds in Osa."

[*From General Knox to War Office.*

Dated Vladivostok, March 4, 1919.]

An interview with an officer has appeared in a Vladivostok paper which gives an idea of the ruin that has befallen Moscow. He had escaped through the lines, and says that execution and arrests, to say nothing of hunger and cold and robbery in all its forms, are part of the daily life of the city. The streets are filthy and torn up, houses are shell-shattered and gutted by fire. Pocket-picking has become fashionable, and is looked on as a harmless eccentricity. Officers are put on to the most menial forms or work, such as street cleaning, loading bricks at railway stations, and a colonel is now a night watchman. Whilst Kuksh was in Bolshevik occupation women from 16 to 50 were mobilized for work, and to " satisfy the needs of the pride and flower of the revolution." At Goroblagodatsky the Red Army threw forty-four bodies down a well. They were discovered later, and amongst them were found the bodies of a priest, some monks, and a young girl. At Blagoveschensk officers and soldiers from Torbolof's detachment were found with gramophone needles thrust under their finger nails, their eyes torn out, the marks of nails on their shoulders where shoulder straps had been worn. Their bodies had become like frozen statues, and were hideous to look upon. These men had been killed by Bolsheviks at Metzanovaya and taken thence to Blagoveschensk.

Following is text of document belonging to a Red Commissioner captured at front and quoted in local press:—

" herewith I certify that the bearer, comrade Evdomikof, is allowed the right of acquiring a girl for himself and no one may oppose this in any way, he is invested with full power which I certify."

[*From Sir C. Eliot to the Earl Curzon.*

Dated Vladivostok, March 5, 1919.]

Following from consul at Ekaterinburg, 3rd March:—

" Following is summary of Bolshevik investigation at Perm. Commencing from February 1918, factories were managed by Labour Committees amongst whom criminals were to be found; incapacity of these committees and general demoralization of labouring class brought about complete standstill of production and rise in prices from which whole population suffers.

" Bolsheviks completely disorganised school establishments by appointing teachers by system of voting in which students and domestic employees of schools took part. First-year law students appointed by Bolsheviks replaced magistrates in Law Courts.

" Bolshevik policy was characterized by prosecution of all classes of population suspected of ill-feeling towards them, especially well-to-do class and peasants.

" In spite of confiscation of their property well-to-do class were forced to pay huge contributions and many of them were arrested as hostages on most futile pretexts, without any accusations being made against them and frequently by caprice or personal spite of some Bolshevist commissary.

" Those who were not shot were incarcerated under disgraceful conditions where they were kept under perpetual dread of being murdered. During arrest of these people their houses were pillaged.

" In villages 'poor committees' were organized, representatives of which were supposed to be elected by peasants; elections were, however, discarded tacitly by Bolsheviks, who appoint people almost exclusively of criminal classes. Contributions, requisitions, and other tyrannies were imposed by Bolsheviks on peasants possessing land or other property, which resulted in insurrections in villages suppressed by Bolsheviks by pillage, devastations, and massacres on large scale, notably at Sepytchyi and Pystor in Ohansk district, August, 1918. Labourers opposing Bolsheviks were treated in same manner as peasants. One hundred labourers were shot at Motovilyky near Perm, December, 1918, for protesting against Bolshevik conduct. Peasants particularly suffered when Red Army retreated, Bolsheviks taking with them cereals, horses, and cattle available, and destroying all agricultural and other instruments they were not able to take with them. Bolshevik persecution of anti-Bolshevik elements reached height of its fury after attempt on Lenin's life, although even previously it had developed into a reign of terror.

" Commissaries consisted of unintellectual labourers from 20 to 30 years old who condemned people to death without making any accusation against them, frequently personally taking part in murder of their victims.

" Russian authorities have only just commenced investigation of Bolshevik crimes, and therefore it is difficult to obtain precise data as to number of persons killed, although, as far as we can judge, it runs into several thousands in Perm Government. Victims were usually shot, but frequently drowned or killed by sword. Murders of groups of 30, 40, and 60 have taken place, for example at Perm and Kungur.

" Murders were frequently preceded by tortures and acts of cruelty. Labourers at Omsk, before being shot, were flogged and beaten with butts of rifles and pieces of iron in order to extract evidence. Victims were frequently forced to dig their own graves. Sometimes executioners placed them facing wall and fired several revolver shots from behind them, near their ears, killing them after considerable interval; persons who survived this gave evidence.

" Girls, aged women, and women *enceintes* were amongst victims. Case of Miss Bakouyeva is an example. December, 1918, this lady (19 years old) was accused of espionage, and tortured by being slowly pierced thirteen times in same wound by bayonet. She was afterwards found by peasants still alive; is now nearly cured, and has herself related her sufferings to us.

" Bolshevists vented violent hatred on church and clergy, pillaged monasteries (such as Nielogorod and Bielogorski), turned churches into meeting places and workshops, persecuted and murdered priests and monks; of 300 priests in liberated parts of Perm diocese, 46 were killed by Bolshevists."

No. 50.

From Sir C. Eliot to Earl Curzon.

Dated Vladivostok, March 21, 1919.

Following from consul at Ekaterinburg, 20th March:—

" Have now completed our report on Bolsheviks. Enclosures comprise Russian consul's unnbiassed evidence of nearly 100 witnesses, 20 photographs of atrocities committed by Bolsheviks and other documentary evidence obtained from Russian authorities.

" Persons of all classes, especially peasants, continue to come to this consulate, giving evidence of murder of their relatives and other outrages that Bolsheviks in their fury have wrought, but, owing to necessity of limiting work in order to complete report, have been obliged to curtail taking further evidence.

" Details given in my recent telegrams may be taken as characteristic of manner Bolsheviks murdered innocent citizens; and, therefore, for reasons above mentioned, unless I hear from you to contrary, shall desist sending you further names. From reports received, murder and pillage committed by Bolsheviks during their retreat from this front assumed most terrible proportions."

Extract from a Report by a British Chaplain.

" With the oncoming of the Austro-German armies into South Russia last spring, my experiences of Bolsheviks entered on a new phase. Previously I had for many months lived in the terrorized city of Odessa, where the cowed and despoiled population had been bullied into abject submission to a brutal and despotic Bolshevik tyranny. The city had been drenched with blood, murders and outrages in the streets as well as houses were of daily, even hourly occurrence; trade was paralyzed, shops looted, the bourgeoisie arrested, tortured, and done to death by hundreds under circumstances of fiendish cruelty. The Allied consuls had left, and the majority of the foreigners, when a general massacre of the educated population was arranged to commence with the extermination of 108 families. This last brutality was averted by the arrival of the armies of the Central Powers.

Undoubtedly the rapidly accumulating horrors were deliberately incited by the secret German Bolshevik agents in order that the advancing Austrian armies might not be met as foes but welcomed as deliverers coming to save the people from a tyranny more brutal than anything Russia had previouly known. The scheme was entirely successful, the Austrian troops were received as saviours.

The intrigue was cleverly managed. Nothing had been left to chance. All possibility of effective armed opposition had been rendered impossible by the enormous massacres of Russian officers previously systematically incited by the German propagandists. The march into the Southern Ukraine was another stage in a Vienna intrigue, which has been moving forward for the last forty years, the design for expansion to the East and access to the Black sea.

Within three days of the arrival of the Austrian army in Odessa, the soldiers were sent into the city with orders to fraternize with the inhabitants, to conduct themselves with marked courtesy and self-restraint, and to meet all friendly advances with conciliatory affability.

The Russian Bolshevik troops fled at the approach of the Austrians. The Black Sea fleet left the morning Odessa was surrendered. Some of the ships were so heavily laden with plunder they could scarcely make way. A large proportion of the worst Bolshevik criminals of the district, together with the more motorious bands of assassins and highwaymen, escaped with the fleet. Two of the crews, having murdered their officers some time before, were unable to navigate their vessels until help was sent from other ships. The Bolshevik flagship took on board the entire company from the two largest houses of illfame in the city together with their private orchestra. For three days before the Austrians marched into Odessa the Bolsheviks had divers at work from the Imperial yacht " Almas " and the cruiser " Sinope " dragging the harbour for the weighted bodies of the murdered officers, of whom about 400 had been done to death, the majority, after torture with boiling steam followed by exposure to currents of freezing air. Others were burnt alive, bound to planks which were slowly pushed into the furnaces a few inches at a time. In this way perished General Chourmakof and many others of my acquaintance. The bodies now recovered from the water were destroyed in the ships' furnaces that no evidence might remain to be brought before the Austro-Germans. Later a member of the Austrian Staff told me they had been supplied with a list of names of over 400 murdered officers from the Odessa district.

January, 1919.

From M. M——— to Earl Curzon.

Dated Moscow, January 12, 1919.

I have the honour to report that the food question in Moscow is growing more and more acute with every day. Nominally the population of this city

has to obtain its food by the card system, cards of three categories having been introduced and the quantity of food available distributed in the following proportions:—

Category 1. Those working manual work	4
" 2. Those working intellectual	3
" 3. Those having no employment	2

The difficulty, however, is that no food, except black bread, is available for distribution, and the quantity of bread distributed at present, namely, ½ pound for the first category, ⅜ pound for the second, and ¼ pound for the third, is completely insufficient to keep one alive. Other food-stuffs must be obtained from speculators at exorbitant prices, the seller as well as the purchaser running the risk of a heavy fine or imprisonment if denounced, as traffic in food-stuffs is strictly forbidden.

Thousands of men and women are going daily to distant country places with the object of purchasing and bringing into town some provisions, thus disarranging the regular railway traffic.

It is, however, not an easy matter to bring provisions into Moscow, as cordons of soldiers are searching passengers' luggage at country stations, and will take away, at their discretion, anything they think superfluous.

To illustrate the high cost of living at Moscow, I beg to enclose herewith a list of the food-stuffs which are still obtainable together with the prices at which they are sold.

Food Prices at Moscow.

	Roubles *per lb.
Black bread	12 to 14
White bread not obtainable.	
Rye flour	15 " 16
Wheat flour	20 " 25
Meals	15 " 20
Rice	40
Potatoes	4 " 5
Carrots	3 " 4
Sugar	90 " 100
Butter	100 " 120
Tea	90 " 100
Sunflower oil	40 " 45
Horse flesh	12 " 16
Beef	27 " 30
Mutton	30 " 35
Pork	40 " 45
Lard and bacon	70 " 80

It is, however, impossible to obtain always provisions even at these prices.

* 1 Rouble=(nominal) 53 cents. 1 Russian lb. =14.4 oz.

[*From Lord Kilmarnock to Earl Curzon, dated Copenhagen, February 17, 1919.*]

" I have the honour to transmit, herewith, translations of two further reports on the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks in the Baltic Provinces which have been furnished me by the Esthonian Provisional Government here.

I also enclose seven photographs of the victims of the massacres by the Bolsheviks at Wesenberg and Dorpat from the same source" (Photos not reproduced).

[BOLSHEVIK ATROCITIES IN ESTHONIA.]

" On the 25th December the Bolsheviks shot the steward Karu, the foreman and the housekeeper, Sitau of the Kiltsi estate. Before death, the victims were cruelly tortured. Besides these, the author, Woldemar Rosentrauch, and three other persons were shot.

According to the report from the leader of an attacking squadron, Lieutenant Jakobsen, the Bolsheviks murdered two brothers, Hendrik and Hans Kokamal, of Piksaare, on the 26th January. They crushed the head of the former by two blows of an axe, and shot the latter. Besides this, they robbed the victims of their clothes and boots and tore their linen, which, being bloodstained was useless to them.

In Sagnitz, in the Walk district, the head forester, Hesse, and the book-keeper Wichmann, were shot by the Bolsheviks. As well as the graves of these two victims, seven more were discovered at the same place.

[THE BLOOD-BATH IN WALK.]

" Bolshevism raged more in Walk than anywhere else, as the Bolsheviks remained longest in power there. The number of persons murdered by them is great but not definitely known. At all events they are estimated at from 350 to 450. Besides, 600 to 700 persons were carried off by the Bolsheviks. From the report of the inhabitants of the district these unfortunates were murdered on the way.

The murders were committed in the same manner as elsewhere. The unfortunates, who belonged to different classes of society, were arrested on all sorts of pretexts, kept prisoners a few days, and the in groups of twenty to thirty, led out of the town to the place of execution, where graves were already prepared for them Every night, twenty to thirty persons were executed without examination or trial. Before being shot, the victims were tortured in every possible way. All the bodies bear marks of many bayonet thrusts as well as gun wounds. The skulls are shattered and the bones broken. Even after death, when the bodies were stiff, the Bolsheviks hacked off the arms and legs and broke the bones of their victims."

The Bolsheviks have instilled such terror into the hearts of the local inhabitants, that they dare not even talk of the Bolsheviks' deeds, and therefore it is difficult to obtain a true report of all their atrocities in Walk.

An Esthonian soldier of cavalry was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks and was executed in Walk along with many others. The Bolshevik bullets, which killed so many of his comrades did not hit him and he succeeded after the murder to escape from the common burial-place. He describes one of those terrible blood-baths in the following manner:—

"They took our caps, coats and cloaks. Thirty-five armed Bolsheviks surrounded us in order to prevent any attempt to escape. Our hands were bound behind our backs. Besides this, we were fastened in couples, and then each pair joined by a long rope, so that we marched all attached to the one rope. Thus we were led to death. I protested against this barbaric treatment, the Bolshevik officer struck me twice on the head with a riding-whip and said, 'Shooting is too good for you, your eyes ought to be put out before death. At the word of command, the Bolsheviks fired a volley. The bound group fell to earth. I also was pulled down by the others, though I had not been hit. The Bolsheviks fired four rounds on the fallen. Fortunately, I again was missed. Then the executioners fell upon us like wild animals to rob us. Any one who still moved was finally killed by bayonets or blows from the butt-ends of rifles. I kept as still as possible. One of the Bolsheviks took my boots. Another looked at my stockings. 'Good stockings,' he murmured, and pulled them off."

[OUTRAGES AT WERRO].

The rapidity with which the Esthonian troops occupied Werro saved the lives of more than 200 people. There were 183 persons in prison, for whom a similar fate was intended as befell those in Dorpat on the 14th January. The lists were already made out. But the Red Guard took flight at the approach of the Esthonian troops. Only the warders remained behind, and they opened the prison doors. Altogether some 100 people were to have been shot in Werro near the Russian cemetery, Kaseritzschen lake, and Kirrumpah redoubt. On the arrival of the rescuers many of the graves were not yet filled in, and a number of bodies lay exposed in the snow. Several women were also shot, and especially ghastly was the murder of Frl. Irmgard Kupffer. The following are the names of people who are known to have been murdered in Werro: Barber Kuns, Solicitor R. Pihlak, House-owners Kond and Wierland, Forester Matson from Erastwere, Pastor Sommer, and Hr. Wreemann. The names of most of the victims are unknown, for the greater number did not belong to Werro, but had been carried off there from the neighbouring villages and shot. The Bolsheviks also kept secret the number and names of their victims.

It has already been mentioned that, according to the Bolshevik newspaper "Tööline," a number of counter-revolutionaries were murdered in Werro on the 14th January. Now information is brought by Merchant P., of Pölwa, who was led to death with the above-mentioned victims, but who escaped the massacre. He reports the following: "The twenty-four men who were condemned to death were led to a lake. There they were ordered to undress and to run home. The victims obeyed, but scarcely had they turned their backs when the Bolsheviks fired a volley at them, P. saved himself by throwing himself

on the ground in good time. The Bolsheviks, thinking he was dead like the others, went off. Then P. got up and went away. Three or four victims saved themselves in this way, whilst the others were fatally shot by the Bolsheviks."

A few days after the retreat from Dorpat the Bolsheviks shot three people, namely, Täkk, Waltin, and Antzow.

According to later news, the following people were shot by the Bolsheviks: Steward Hansen of the Arral estate near Odenpäh, with his son, and Herr Seen, the owner of Saarjerw, in Pölwe.

It is reported from Walk that, among others, the Bolsheviks shot Police Inspector Koch, and the former Ensign Rudolf. They carried away the following persons: Pastors Wühner, Uns, Jänes, Michelson, Priests Protopopow, Sirnis, and Merchant Wassili.

[*Report on Internal Situation in Russia.*]

Following is a summary of a report on the internal situation in Russia which has been received from Mr. K———, a member of the British Printers Trade Union, who left Petrograd on the 9th January, 1919. Mr. K——— was also a member of the Russian Printers' Trade Union; he travelled extensively in Russia and was received everywhere as a working man. He had, therefore, an exceptional opportunity of studying the conditions in Soviet Russia. Reports have been received from various sources of the growing opposition to Bolsehvik rule among———————

[*Extracts from a Report by Rev. B. S. Lambard, Chaplain to the Forces, March 23, 1919.*]

" I have been for ten years in Russia, and have been in Petrograd through the whole of the revolution.

I spent six weeks in the Fortress of Peter and Paul, acted as chaplain to His Majesty's submarines in the Baltic for four years, and was in contact with 9th (Russian) Army in Roumania during the autumn of 1917 whilst visiting British Missions and hospitals, and had ample opportunity of studying Bolshevik methods.

It originated in German propaganda, and was, and is being, carried out by international Jews.

The Germans initiated disturbances in order to reduce Russia to chaos. They printed masses of paper money to finance their schemes. The notes of which I possess specimens can be easily recognized by a special mark.

" All business became paralyzed, shops were closed, Jews became possessors of most of the business houses, and horrible scenes of starvation became common

in the country districts. The peasants put their children to death rather than see them starve. In a village on the Dvina, not far from Schusselberg, a mother hanged three of her children.

I was conducting a funeral in a mortuary of a lunatic asylum at Oudelnaia, near Petrograd, and saw the bodies of a mother and her five children whose throats had been cut by the father because he could not see them suffer.

When I left Russia last October the nationalization of women was regarded as an accomplished fact, though I cannot prove that (with the exception of at Saratoff) there was any actual proclamation issued.

The cruelty of the soldiers is unspeakable. The father of one of the Russian clerks in the Vauxhall Motor Works was bound and laid on a railway line and cut to pieces by a locomotive on suspicion of having set fire to some of his own property. In August last two bargeloads of Russian officers were sunk and their bodies washed up on the property of a friend of mine in the Gulf of Finland, many lashed together in twos and threes with barbed wire.

While we were in prison a Red Guard was sent from the central police station (Gorokovaia 2) in charge of five prisoners to the fortress. One of them, an old officer, was unable to walk, the guard shot him and left his body on the Troytsky Bridge. The murderer was reprimanded and imprisoned in a cell near ours. The treatment of priests was brutal beyond everything. Eight of them were incarcerated in a cell in our corridor. Some of us saw an aged man knocked down twice one morning for apparently no reason whatever, and they were employed to perform the most degrading work and made to clean out the filthy prison hospital. Recently, life in Petrograd has become a veritable nightmare.

In the early days of 1917 the Russians glorified in a bloodless revolution, now they simply glut themselves with killing for the most trivial offences. In a market on the opposite side the river to my house, a poor woman with a starving family filched a small piece of meat from a stall; without any hesitation the Red Guard surrounded her and placing her against a wall shot her dead.

The rank and file of the Red Army is full of men who are heartily sick of the present regime, and would gladly join any really strong force sent to the relief of the country. But unless the force were considerable, they would hesitate.

But I imagine that the food question is the key to the situation. The Red Armies must be at a low ebb for provisions, and by getting stores to Helsingfors they might be treated with."

[*Interviews with Returned British Subjects.*]

"Mr. B....., who has lived in Russia all his life, left Moscow on the 8th February and was interviewed at the Foreign office on his arrival, and supplied the following information:"—

"The food conditions are getting worse and worse every day, and it is now practically impossible to obtain enough to eat. People are dying of starvation

everywhere. A few months ago it was possible for the townspeople to buy food from the peasants down in the villages, but they are unable to do this now, as the peasants will not take money for any food that they may have to sell. Everything is done by exchange. Money is no use to the peasants, but clothes and instruments are valuable so the exchange system is used everywhere."

"There are three food categories in Moscow now instead of four, but even the "category" people cannot get all the food they are entitled to receive. Certainly the 1st category ought to receive one-half pound bread a day, the 2nd, three-eighths pound and the 3rd one-eighth pound; also about one-half pound to 1 pound of fish a month, which was usually not fit for consumption; and 1¼ to 1½ pound of oil a month (butter substitute); and about one half pound soap a month. The above is all that could be obtained by category people. No fats of any description were obtainable. Mr. B..... himself sold a pound of soap for 35 roubles."

"In spite of the appalling conditions prevailing everywhere, the Kremlin is well supplied with all kinds of food. A servant of the house where Mr. B..... stayed had a brother in the Kremlin, and he told her that there was an abundance of ham, white bread, butter, sausages, etc.

"Typhus is rampant everywhere, and is getting worse every day. There is also a lot of typhoid fever about; but, worse than this, glanders is now spreading among the people. The Bolsheviks are afraid of this terrible disease spreading far and wide, so they simply shoot any person suffering from this complaint. There are no medicines there by which they can attempt to cure the people, and there is of course a great shortage of doctors. Mr. B..... thinks that there are more cases of glanders in Moscow than anywhere else."

"The people are suffering intensely from the cold as there is practically no wood available. Only 3½ feet of wood is allowed a month for one flat and even this the people have to fetch themselves from the railway stations. The price of wood in the Nigni Novgorod is 200 roubles a fathom (official price); if bought from outside (in the markets, etc.) it is about 500 roubles. The average heat of a room is only 43 to 45 degrees Fahrenheit. The fuel question is much worse in Petrograd than it is in Moscow. The reason for this is that most of the Petrograd houses have central heating, and when the pipes get out of order (as they invariably do) there is no possibility of ever having them mended."

"All the workmen are anti-Bolshevik in reality, though many of them have to work under the Bolsheviks in order to live. Mr. B..... gave 5 to 10 per cent as his estimate of the number of Bolsheviks out of the whole population of Russia."

"The Bolsheviks pay the workmen very well, but as the cost of living has increased so tremendously their wages are not nearly high enough to enable them to live comfortably, even were the food obtainable. Roughly speaking, the workmen get fifteen to twenty times as much as they used to, and the cost of living has gone up to anything between 300 and 1,000 times as much as it was before the Revolution."

The Bolsheviks employ very high-handed methods with the factories. If the workmen strike, the factory is closed, the leaders are generally arrested, and sometimes they are even shot. At the Sokolnitski works (repairing trams, etc.) in Moscow, the workmen went on strike because the Bolsheviks said they were not turning out the proper amount of work. As a result of this the factory was simply closed down and the following notice was put in the paper: "In consequence of the falling off of production in the Sokolnitski works, it was closed down by order of the Government." All this proves that the Workmen's Committees have no real power, as the Bolsheviks just do what they like without even consulting the Committees."

"At S———, where Mr. B———— was working, the Bolsheviks wanted to inaugurate a demonstration on the 25th October, 1918. In order to get the men to attend the demonstration meeting the Bolsheviks promised a free dinner to all who went, and looked upon those who refused as saboteurs. This, in the end, practically amounted to forcing the men to join the demonstration.

"There are not many factories working in Russia now, most of them have had to close down on account of the fuel shortage. The few factories that remain only work about three days a week, but the workmen are paid full wages. Often a factory has to be closed for weeks at a time, owing to lack of fuel and raw material; during this time the workmen are paid half wages. "

"Students of high schools do not pay any fees, and any boy or girl of 16 years of age is allowed to enter the universities without showing any certificates, so that if a boy is unable to read or write he can still go to the university. This offer of education does not appeal to the working-class very much, and it is mostly the *intelligentsia* who take advantage of this opportunity. In spite of the Bolsheviks' so-called efforts to promote education, nothing is being accomplished, and things are going from bad to worse. They have instituted workmen's clubs where the workmen can go and listen to lectures, etc., but the only reason why any men attend is because a cup of tea and a slice of bread is usually supplied some time during the lecture. In the same way, the only reason why children go to school is to get the breakfast that is given there."

[Memorandum by Mr. B———]

The Russian Government—There has now been time for considerable organization of the Bolshevik Government. Russia has been divided into four Federal Republics:

(1) Commune of the North.
(2) Commune of the West.
(3) Central Commune.
(4) Commune of the Volga.

The first is composed of the Governments of Petrograd, Archangel, Viatka, Vologda, part of the Government of Pskov, Novgorod, Tcherepovetz and Olonetz.

The second comprises the Governments of Vitebsk, Smolensk and Pskov.

The third the Governments of Moscow, Orel, Koursk, Toula, Tver, Nijni-Novgorod, Voronege.

The fourth those of Kazan, Simbirsk, Saratov and Perm.

Each town is provided with its Council of Deputies and its Commission for fighting counter-revolution, sabotage and speculation. Each district besides has its Council of Deputies (Sovdep) and its Extraordinary Commission. These institutions direct all local affairs, but they are all subject to the authority of the Central Executive Committee, which sits at Moscow. The pan-Russian Extraordinary Commission against counter-revolution, etc., also sits at Moscow. The members of these bodies are supposed to be elected by the pan-Russian Congress of Workmen, Peasants, Red Guards, Sailors and Cossack Deputies; foreign affairs are under the exclusive management of George Tchitcherine. The Central Committee is composed as follows:—

Lenin	President.
Trotsky	Military and Naval Commissary.
Tchitcherine	Foreign Affairs.
Spiez	Commissary of Labour.
Podrovski	Interior (ex-Professor of History at Moscow).
Lounatcharski	Education.
Nevski	Commissary of Roads and Communications. A former engineer at the Ministry.
Oulianova	Lenin's wife, social assistant.
Stoutchka	Justice. Formerly a Deputy of the Petrograd Tribunal.
Tziouroupa	Minister of Food.
Bontch-Brouevitch	Business Manager.

The Red Army.—On the 25th October, 1918, the Bolshevik troops of Petrograd and the neighbourhood numbered hardly more than two divisions. Regimental committees have been abolished throughout the Army, and the power was transferred to military commissaries, who were charged with attending to the political *mora*. The Bolsheviks have neglected no means for increasing the number of their troops. Disabled soldiers of the Old Army released from Germany are concentrated on their arrival either at Petrograd or Moscow and quartered with soldiers of the Red Guard. They are left without clothing, with insufficient rations, and without medical attendance, while the Red Guard, with whom they are mingled, is well fed, clothed, and amply supplied with money. When they complain, the answer is: "Enrol in the Red Guard." Refractory cases are cruelly treated. At the head of the Red Guard is a former colonel of the staff, a Lett named Vatatis. Each soldier receives 300 to 500 roubles a month, equipment, food on a higher scale than all the other categories, and a promise to support his family in the event of death; but, in spite of their privileged situation, the Red Guard have not the confidence of the Government, and, as intercepted letters show, many of them are disaffected. The real reliance of the Government is placed in the "International Battalions of the Army," which are formed of Letts and Chinese, who are used as punitive companies

both in the Army and in the interior. Theoretically, the International Battalions are on an equality with the Red Guard, but actually they are far better paid, and they can count on absolute immunity for the excesses they commit against the wretched civil population which is left at their mercy. There is compulsory military instruction in the towns for all men between 17 and 40, in the form of drills twice a week. While its cohesion lasts, the Bolshevik Army is an incontestable force.

The Terror.—All assemblies except those organised by the Bolsheviks are forbidden in the towns. Anti-Bolshevik meetings are dispersed by armed force and their organisers shot. No Press exists except the Bolshevik Press. The Bolsheviks organise Sunday reunions, in which such subjects as, "Should one enrol in the Red Guards?"; Who will give us our daily bread?"; "The world revolution," etc., are debated.

So effective is the Terror that no one dares to engage in Anti-Bolshevik propaganda. People have been arrested for a simple telephonic conversation in which the terms seemed ambiguous or could be interpreted as adverse to the Bolsheviks. An arrest is the prelude to every kind of corruption; the rich have to pay huge exactions to intermediaries, who are usually Jews, before they can obtain their release.

Latterly "mass arrests" have come into fashion. It was thought at first that these were ordered by the Extraordinary Commission against counter-revolution, but it is now known that they are ordered by a special Revolutionary Committee called for short "The Three," because it consists of three members. This committee is independent of the Extraordinary Commission and is controlled only by the Commissary of War. Persons arrested by its orders have never been seen again.

The proceedings of this committee are kept secret; its very composition is unknown to the public."

[WORKINGMENS PROTEST.]

Report from a reliable source, dated Petrograd, March 21, 1919.

Strikes at the Putilof and other factories have been the main events of interest during the past week.

The outbreak was economic rather than political. The cry for "Bread" gave place to a new cry. "Down with Lenin."

Both the strikes and the rising were due in part to the instigation of the Social Revolutionary party.

In the various workshops Bolshevism no longer keeps its hold, though a few factory committees endeavour to keep it alive. These committees are made up mainly of Communists, who maintain their power by manipulating the elections, and will even introduce total strangers in order to maintain a majority; while they terrorize the workmen, and compel them to vote for the Soviet candidates.

The workmen now regard the factory committees as Soviet spies, and believe that their words are passed on by agents, who claim to be Social Revolutionaries,

and who are sent to the works in order to report on the co-called " crime " of political opposition.

It is probable for this reason that the Social Revolutionaries had less to do with the rising than had the actual workmen, though the Bolsheviks would not admit this.

On the 10th March a mass meeting was held at the Putilof works; 10,000 men were present, and a resolution was passed, with only twenty-two dissentients, all of whom were complete strangers unconnected with the works. The following extracts show the tenour of the resolution:—

" We, the workmen of the Putilof Works Wharf, declare before the labouring classes of Russia and the world that the Bolshevik Government has betrayed the high ideals of the October revolution, and thus betrayed and deceived the workmen and peasants of Russia; that the Bolshevik Government acting as formerly in our names, is not the authority of the Proletariat and peasants, but an authority and dictatorship of a central committee of the Bolshevik party, self-governing with the aid of extraordinary commissions, Communists, and police.

" We protest against the compulsion of workmen to remain at factories and works, and the attempt to deprive them all of elementary rights, freedom of the press, speech, meetings, inviolability of persons, etc.

" We demand—

" 1. The immediate transfer of authority to a freely elected Workmen's and Peasants' Soviet.

" 2. The immediate re-establishment of freedom of election at factories and works, barracks, ships, railways, and everywhere.

" 3. The transfer of wholesale management to released workmen of the professional union.

" 4. The transfer of the food supply to Workmen's and Peasants' Co-operative Societies.

" 5. The general arming of workmen and peasants.

" 6. The immediate release of members of the original revolutionary peasants' party of Left Social Revolutionists.

" 7. The immediate release of Marie Spiridonova."

The carrying of the resolution was received with cries of " Down with dictatorship!" " Down with the Kommissars!" " To the Courts with the Bolshevik hangmen and murderers!"

The Government took steps to put down any further manifestations, and anyone found in possession of the resolution was at once arrested. Various promises were made, and money, in the shape of " Kerensky " notes, was distributed by the Bolsheviks, but the workmen refused to be pacified, and incited their comrades to strike.

On the 15th of March the Baltic, Skorohod, and Tramway works came out on strike.

The situation was so serious that Lenin came from Moscow and attempted to pacify the workmen by speeches and promises of an extra bread ration. He also promised that passenger traffic between Petrograd and Moscow should be suspended for four weeks, in order that the transport of supplies might be facilitated.

" His proposals were refused, and the workmen demanded his resignation. Zinoviev and Lunacharsky, the only two Kommissars who dared to address the workmen, had no better success. Zinoviev was greeted with cries of " Down with that Jew "! and was compelled to escape, Lunacharsky found it almost impossible to obtain a hearing, and eventually promised that the Bolsheviks would resign if the majority desired their resignation.

A demand was made by the delegates of the Putilof Works that the resolution of the 10th March should be published in the " Northern Commune ". but this was refused by the Kommissars of the Interior.

On the 16th March Torin incited Bolsheviks to kill the Social Revolutionaries, and Zinoviev brought into Petrograd a number of sailors and soldiers of the Red Army. The force was composed of foreigners, mainly Letts and Germans; During the next two days 300 arrests took place in the workshops, and suspected ringleaders and Social Revolutionaries were shot wholesale.

Though order has been partially restored, and many workmen have been driven to work by means of threats, they are still incensed against the Bolsheviks, and demand the freedom of the press in order to voice their greivances."

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RUSSIAN PRESS.

Extract from the "Krasnaya Gazeta" (Organ of Red Army), September 1, 1918.

ARTICLE, entitled "Blood for Blood," begins in the following way:—

"We will turn our hearts into steel, which we will temper in the fire of suffering and the blood of fighters for freedom. We will make our hearts cruel, hard, and immovable, so that no mercy will enter them, and so that they will not quiver at the sight of a sea of enemy blood. We will let loose the floodgates of that sea. Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. Let them be thousands; let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin and Uritski, Zinovief, and Volodarski, let there be floods of the blood of the *bourgeois*—more blood, as much as possible."

Extracts from Official Journal ("Izvestiya"), September, 1918.

There are only two possibilities—the dictatorship of the *bourgeoisie* or the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . . The proletariat will reply to the attempt on Lenin in a manner that will make the whole *bourgeoisie* shudder with horror.

Assassination at Petrograd of Kommissar Uritzky by Kannegisser Jew Dvoryanin, twenty-two years of age, student, formerly Junker of Artillery School.

"Krasnaya Gazeta" writes: "Whole *bourgeoisie* must answer for this act of terror. . . . . Thousands of our enemies must pay for Uritsky's death. . . . . We must teach *bourgeoisie* a bloody lesson. . . . . Death to the *bourgeoisie*."

Attempt on Lenin.

Proclamation Issued by the Extraordinary Commission and signed "Peters."

Proclamation states that "the criminal hand of a member of the Social-Revolutionary Party, directed by the Anglo-French, has dared to fire at the leader of the working class." This crime will be answered by a "massive terror." Woe to those who stand on the path of the working class. All representatives of capital will be sent to forced labour, and their property confiscated. Counter-revolutionaries will be exterminated and crushed beneath the heavy hammer of the revolutionary proletariat.

Petrovsky, Kommissar for Interior, issues circular telegraphic order reproving local Soviets for their "extraordinarily insignificant number of serious repressions and mass shootings of White Guards and *bourgeoisie*." An immediate end must be put to these grandmotherly methods. All Right Social-Revolutionaries must be immediately arrested. Considerable numbers of hostages must be taken from *bourgeoisie* and former officers. At the slightest attempt at

resistance, or the slightest movement in White Guard circles, mass shootings of hostages must be immediately employed. Indecisive and irresolute action in this matter on the part of local Soviets will be severely dealt with.

TERRORISM.

The Council of the People's Commissaries, having considered the report of the chairman of the Extraordinary Commission*, found that under the existing conditions it was most necessary to secure the safety of the rear by means of terror. To strengthen the activity of the Extraordinary Commission, and render it more systematic as many responsible party comrades as possible are to be sent to work on the Commission. The Soviet Republic must be made secure against its class enemies by sending them to concentration camps.

*The Extraordinary Commission are responsible for the trials and executions, and for executions without trial. Their work is sometimes done *in camerâ*.

All persons belonging to White Guard organisations or involved in conspiracies and rebellions are to be shot. Their names and the particulars of their cases are to be published. ("Northern Commune," September 9, 1918.)

Tver, 9th September.—The Extraordinary Commission has arrested and sent to concentration camps over 130 hostages from among the *bourgeoisie*. The prisoners include members of the Cadet party, Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Right, former officers, well-known members of the propertied classes and policemen. ("Northern Commune," September 10, 1918.)

Jaroslav, 9th September.—In the whole of the Jaroslav Government a strict registration of the *bourgeoisie* and its partisans has been organised. Manifestly anti-Soviet elements are being shot; suspected persons are interned in concentration camps; non-working sections of the population are subjected to compulsory labour. ("Northern Commune," September 10, 1918.)

Atkarsk, 11th September.—Yesterday martial law was proclaimed in the town. Eight counter-revolutionaries were shot.
("Northern Commune," September 12, 1918.)

Borisoglebsk; 16th September.—For an attempt to organise a movement in opposition to the Soviet power, nine local counter-revolutionaries were shot, namely—two rich land-owners, six merchants and the local "Corn King" Vasiliev. ("Northern Commune," September 16, No. 106.)

Resolution passed by the Soviet of the First Urban District of Petrograd:—

". . . . The meeting welcomes the fact that *mass terror* is being used against the White Guards and higher *bourgeois* classes, and declares that every attempt on the life of any of our leaders will be answered by the proletariat by shooting down not only of hundreds, as is the case now, but of thousands of White Guards, bankers, manufacturers, Cadets (constitutional democrats) and Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Right."
("Northern Commune," September 18, 1918.)

In Astrakhan the Extraordinary Commission has shot ten Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Right involved in a plot against the Soviet power. In Karamyshef a priest named Lubimof and a deacon named Kvintil have been shot for revolutionary agitation against the decree separating the Church from the State, and for an appeal to overthrow the Soviet Government. In Perm, in retaliation for the assassination of Uritzky and for the attempt on Lenin, fifty hostages from among the *bourgeois* classes and the White Guards were shot (a few names are given). In Sebesh a priest named Kirkevich was shot for counter-revolutionary propaganda, and for having said masses for the late Nicholas Romanov.

("Northern Commune," September 18, 1918.)

The following telegram has been received from the Cavalry Corps Staff:—"Additional arrests have been made in connection with the affair of former officers and Civil Service officials involved in preparing a rising in Vologda. When the plot was discovered they fled to Archangel and to Murmansk. The prisoners were caught disguised as peasants; all had forged papers on them. The political department of the Corps has in its possession receipts for sums of money received by the arrested persons from the British through ColonelKurtenkof. In connection with this affair fifteen have been shot, mostly military men. Among them were General Astashof, Military Engineer Bodrovolsky, Captain Nikitin and two Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Left—Sudotin and Tourba. Apart from these, the Commander of the Expeditionary Detachment, the sailor Shimansky, who was not equal to the situation was also shot.

("Northern Commune," September 19, 1918.)

"To overcome our enemies we must have our own Socialist Militarism. We must win over to our side, 90 millions out of the 100 millions of population of Russia under the Soviets. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them; they must be annihilated."

(Speech by Zinoviev: reported in the "Northern Commune," September 19, No. 109.)

The work of the Extraordinary Commission is most responsible and calls for the greatest restraint of their members. Do they possess this restraint? Unfortunately, I cannot discuss here whether and how far all the arrests and executions carried out in various places by the Extraordinary Commissions were really necessary. On this point there are differences of opinion in the party . . . . The absence of the necessary restraint makes one feel appalled at the "instruction" issued by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to "All Provincial Extraordinary Commissions," which says:—"The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is perfectly independent in its work, carrying out house searches, arrests, executions, of which it afterwards reports to the Council of the People's Commissaries and to the Central Executive Council." Further, the Provincial and District Extraordinary Commissions "are independent in their activities, and when called upon by the local Executive Council present a report of their work." In so far as house searches and arrests are concerned, a report made afterwards may result in putting right irregularities committed owing to lack of restraint. The same cannot be said of executions. . . . . It can also be seen

from the " instruction " that personal safety is to a certain extent guaranteed only to members of the Government, of the Central Executive Council and of the local Executive Committees. With the exception of these few persons all members of the local committees of the (Bolshevik) party, of the Control Committees and of the Executive Committee of the party may be shot at any time by the decision of any Extraordinary Commission of a small district town if they happen to be on its territory, and a report of that made afterwards.

(From an article by M. Alminsky, " Pravda," October 8, 1918.)

Comrade Bokif gave details of the work of the Petrograd District Commission since the evacuation of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Moscow. The total number of arrested persons was 6,220. 800 were shot.

(From a report of a meeting of the Conference of the Extraordinary Commission, " Izvestia," October 19, 1918, No. 228.)

A riot occurred in the Kirsanof district. The rioters shouted, " Down with the Soviets." They dissolved the Soviet and the Committee of the Village Poor. The riot was suppressed by a detachment of the Soviet troops. Six ringleaders were shot. The case is under examination. (" Izvestia," November 5, 1918.)

By order of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Petrograd several officers were shot for spreading untrue rumours that the Soviet authority had lost the confidence of the people.

All relatives of the officers of the 86th Infantry Regiment (which deserted to the Whites) were shot.

(" Northern Commune," (quoted from " Russian Life " (Helsingfors)), March 11, 1919.)

Treatment of the Bourgeoisie.

Orel.—To-day the Orel *bourgeoisie* commenced compulsory work to which it was made liable. Parties of the *bourgeoisie*, thus made to work, are cleaning the streets and squares from rubbish and dirt. (" Izvestia," October 19, No. 288.)

Chembar.—The *bourgeoisie* put to compulsory work is repairing the pavements and the roads. (" Pravda," October 6, 1918, No. 205.)

If you come to Petrograd you will see scores of *bourgeoisie* laying the pavement in the courtyard of the Smolny. . . . . I wish you could see how well they unload coal on the Neva and clean the barracks.

(From a speech by Zinoviev, " Pravda," October 16, No. 219.)

Large forces of mobilised *bourgeoisie* have been sent to the front to do trench work. (" Krasnaya Gazeta," October 16, 1918.)

A Camp for the Bourgeoisie.

The District Extraordinary Commission (Saransk) has organised a camp of concentration for the local *bourgeoisie* and *kulaki* (the close-fisted).

The duties of the confined shall consist in keeping clean the town of Saransk.

The existence of the camp will be maintained at the expense of the same *bourgeoisie.*

(" Krasnaya Gazeta " (The Red Gazette), Petrograd, November 6, 1918, No. 237.)

Desertions from the Red Army.

The Fight against Desertion.

The " Goios Krasnoarmeytza " (Voice of the Red Armyman), of the 2nd February, issued at Yamburg by the Sixth Light Infantry Division, contains the following announcement:—

" In view of the mass desertions of Red Army men and the necessity of putting a stop to those citizens agitating among them against Soviet authority, and spreading among them false rumours, causing panic among the army and in the rear, and also concealing deserters, persons who are in reality agents of Anglo-French capital, such persons are subject to arrest and to delivery to trial by the Military Revolutionary Tribunal as enemies of the workers' and peasants' government.

" All town, district, and village Soviets of the frontal zone of the Yamburg district and of the neighbouring districts are instructed by the military Soviet of the division and by the Yamburg district Executive Committee to bring to the immediate notice of the Military Revolutionary Tribunal all cases of wandering Red Army men, to detain all persons spreading false rumours, to arrest private persons as well as Red Army men detected in selling or buying military arms and munitions, and to place on all roads barrier-guards and patrols for the apprehension of deserters.

" The Military Revolutionary Tribunal brings to the notice of Red Army men that the time for words and exhortation has passed, and that the time has come demanding the conscious performance of the tasks of the Soviet Republic.

" The concealment and the misplaced solicitude of workmen and peasants in relation to deserters are abetting the licentiousness and idleness in the ranks of the Red Army.

" A deserter needs neither bread nor a refuge, but a bullet.

" Bread and a refuge are due only to the proletariat Red Army.

" (The Military Revolutionary Tribunal at the Front.)"

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